Isho'dad of Merv

Texts from Christian Late Antiquity

62

Series Editor

George Anton Kiraz

TeCLA (Texts from Christian Late Antiquity) is a series presenting ancient Christian texts both in their original languages and with accompanying contemporary English translations.

Ishoʿdad of Merv

Commentary on Daniel

T. C. Schmidt

GORGIAS PRESS
2022

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

2022 Copyright © by Gorgias Press LLC

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Gorgias Press LLC.

2022 ١

ISBN 978-1-4632-4278-7 **ISSN 1935-6846**

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A Cataloging-in-Publication Record is available at the Library of Congress.

Printed in the United States of America

To Carl, my brother
Hebrews 13:1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction ix
Life and Works of Ishoʿdad of Merv ix
Themes and Sources in the Commentary on Daniel x
Interpreting the Prophecies of the Book of Daniel xi
Text and Translation xix
Manuscripts xx
Abbreviations xx
Bibliography xx
Outline xxv
Text and Translation 1
Index of Biblical References 77

INTRODUCTION

LIFE AND WORKS OF ISHOʿDAD OF MERV

Little is known about Ishoʿdad. He was evidently born in Merv, now in modern-day Turkmenistan, and became bishop of Hadatha near Mosul, Iraq. He seems also to have been a candidate for the Church of the East patriarchate around 852 CE.[1] The most influential of his accomplishments, however, are his many commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, which together combine to make him the most prolific commentator in eastern Syriac tradition. This talent was recognized by later Syriac authors who often made use of his work.[2] Such popularity also preserved his corpus in a relatively large number of extant manuscripts.[3]

Among Ishoʿdad's writings are commentaries on the four Gospels, Acts, the fourteen letters of Paul (including Hebrews), James, 1 Peter, and 1 John, all of which likely made up the complete New Testament of Ishoʿdad's east Syriac community.[4] His commentaries on the Old Testament are similarly expansive and include all the books now found in the Hebrew Bible,[5] with the exception of 1-2 Chronicles, though he did use much material from Chronicles in his work on 1-2

[1] For a description of what is known of Ishoʿdad's life, name, and episcopal location, see Gibson, *The Commentaries of Ishoʿdad*, vol. 1 p. xii-xv; van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 156/Syr 75 p. II-IV. See also Abdishoʿ bar Brīkā's (EbedJesus) brief entry in his *Catalog of Books* §140, found in Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, vol. 3 pp. 210–12. https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/pageview/33589. I thank Francis X. Gumerlock for his valuable advice concerning much in this introduction.

[2] For examples of these writers, see p. xviii.

[3] For a brief discussion of Ishoʿdad's works and their reception, see Rompay, "Ishoʿdad of Merv."

[4] For Syriac texts and English translations of Ishoʿdad's New Testament commentaries, see Gibson, *The Commentaries of Ishoʿdad*. For a more recent edition of his *Commentary on John*, see Hofstra, *Ishoʿdad of Merw: Commentary on the Gospel of John*.

[5] For Syriac texts and French translations of these Old Testament commentaries, see van den Eynde and Vosté, *Commentaire d'Iso'dad de Merv Sur l'Ancien Testament, I. Genèse*; van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*. For other editions of Ishoʿdad's commentaries on Job and the Song of Songs, see Schliebitz, *Išôdâdh's Kommentar zum Buche Hiob*; Euringer, "Des Îšô'Dâd von Maru Kommentar zum Hohenlied."

Kings.[6] Ishoʿdad makes further mention of additional books typically found in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament such as 1 and 2 Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, the Prayer of Azariah, and Bel and the Dragon.[7] Of course, Ishoʿdad also wrote a *Commentary on Daniel* which this volume translates into English for the first time.

THEMES AND SOURCES IN THE COMMENTARY ON DANIEL

Ishoʿdad's *Commentary on Daniel* is not exhaustive and skips much biblical material, often taking the form of notes on interesting or difficult passages. These are frequently of a historical nature, as when Ishoʿdad describes Alexander the Great's conquests or when he delineates the lineage of Cyrus the Persian.[8] Despite the desultory nature of Ishoʿdad's commentary, certain of his historical elucidations are quite lengthy, especially towards the end of the work when Ishoʿdad is forced to go into minute details about the doings of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties. He even concludes the commentary with a chronological appendix.

Historical comments aside, Ishoʿdad also provides many philological and textual remarks and so will point out obscure words in order to explain their meaning,[9] or will illuminate passages by comparing the Greek translation of the Old Testament with the Peshitta.[10] In this latter case, Ishoʿdad seems to have derived knowledge of the Greek text from his use of the Syriac version of the Septuagint column of Origen's Hexapla, which was translated by Pawlus of Tella around 616-617 CE.[11] Along with text critical discussions, Ishoʿdad will sometimes venture improvements to the text of Daniel and once even reorders the wording of a passage,[12] or in another, less extreme case, he claims that a prophecy gives historical events out of sequence.[13]

In addition to these topics, Ishoʿdad pays attention to passages that caused canonical difficulty or even doubt within his community. Such often relate to questions that were prompted by contemporary Jewish criticisms of the book of

---

[6] For an overview of Ishoʿdad's exegetical works, see van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 156/Syr 75 p. III-IV; Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Church of the Middle Ages," 569–70.

[7] Van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 156/Syr 75 p. IV. Regarding 1 and 2 Maccabees and Judith, see, for example, Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 127.28, 128.7, 134.7.

[8] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 115.1-20.

[9] For examples of philological discussions, see Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 102.29-20; 103.2; 103.9-14; 103.18-19; 105.13; 106.1; 128.11.

[10] For examples, see Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 109.10-14; 121.26-29.

[11] Rompay, "Pawlos of Tella"; Salvesen, "Syro-Hexapla"; van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 156/Syri 75 p. XXII–XXV.

[12] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 119.24-30.

[13] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 126.19-20.

Daniel.[14] On one occasion Ishoʿdad likewise notes the misgivings that certain Christian teachers harbored over the authenticity of Bel and the Dragon,[15] a Greek addition to Daniel not found in Hebrew tradition. These reservations were likely noticed by Ishoʿdad in his readings of (or about) other Christian exegetes, like Theodoret,[16] John Chrysostom,[17] (pseudo-) Ephrem,[18] Severus of Antioch,[19] and Gregory Nazianzus,[20] all of whom he mentions throughout his commentary.[21] In fact, a good portion of Ishoʿdad's commentary is based on earlier Syriac exegetes,[22] especially Theodore bar Koni (c. 793 CE) and Ishoʿ bar Nun (c. 828 CE), or at least a source used by them.[23]

INTERPRETING THE PROPHECIES OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

However, the most pressing concern for Ishoʿdad was explaining the many prophecies vividly described in the book of Daniel—and with these Ishoʿdad makes his most distinctive contribution. Like many eastern Syriac commentators, Ishoʿdad followed the path of the great interpreter Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 428 CE) in understanding much of the Old Testament through a literal lens,[24] leaving

---

[14] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 102.7-27; 120.14-21. For examples of Ishoʿdad attacking Jewish practice, see 117.10-11; 121.24-25.
[15] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 133.23-134.4.
[16] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 106.1; 110.18; 114.19; 120.12; 133.17; 134.12.
[17] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 109.15.
[18] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 110.4; 119.10; 120.2. Note that the document that Ishoʿdad cites as from Ephrem is likely not actually from him.
[19] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 133.8.
[20] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 134.11.
[21] Theodore of Mopsuestia is not known to have written a work on Daniel and thus Ishoʿdad does not quote from him in his *Commentary on Daniel*. The reader should also be aware that Ishoʿdad does not seem to have been directly familiar with all of the authors he mentions and hence may have accessed some through an intermediate source.
[22] Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Church of the Middle Ages," 569–70.
[23] There are numerous passages in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholia* which Ishoʿdad makes use of almost word for word in his *Commentary on Daniel*; on this, see the many footnotes in the following French translations of the works of Ishoʿdad and Theodore bar Koni, van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 329/Syr. 147 p. 116-158; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore Bar Koni: Livre des Scolies (Recension de Séert)*, CSCO vol. 431/Syr. 187 p. 285-291. On the relationship between Ishoʿdad, Theodore bar Koni, and Ishoʿ bar Nun, see, Clarke, *The Selected Questions of Ishō Bar Nūn on the Pentateuch*; van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 329/Syr. 147 p. XIX, XXI-XXIII; Rompay, "Išoʿ Bar Nun and Išoʿdad of Merv: New Data for the Study of the Interdependence of Their Exegetical Works"; Hofstra, "Isho' Bar Nun's 'Questions and Answers' on the Gospel of St. John and their Relation to the Commentary of Isho'dad of Merv and Theodore Bar Koni's Scholion."
[24] For an overview of Theodore of Mopsuestia's exegetical technique, see Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation," 633–34; McLeod, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 17–22. For examples of parallels between Ishoʿdad and Theodore, see Gibson, *The*

little room for allegorical or even messianic interpretations.[25] This is often labeled an 'Antiochene' exegetical system.[26] But this method of exegesis proved difficult to maintain when it came to the book of Daniel, for so much of its content was allegorical and also pertained to the Messiah, at least apparently.[27]

Thus, in Daniel 2, a great statue is described as sequentially comprised of gold, silver, bronze, and iron (and then iron mixed with clay), which the text says represents four different earthly empires; and in Daniel 7 a vision of four beasts is also said to represent the same. Both prophecies further conclude with a heavenly kingdom that will emerge and destroy the fourth empire.[28] Subsequently, another prophecy in Daniel 9 speaks explicitly of the 'Messiah,'[29] allowing one to easily connect the Messiah with the heavenly kingdom mentioned in chapters 2 and 7 of Daniel. These prophecies were usually interpreted by Christians as foretelling the rise of the Roman Empire and the coming of Jesus, the Messiah.

Yet in these passages Ishoʿdad adheres to Antiochene exegetical principles as much as possible. So, when treating the heavenly kingdom of Daniel 2, he disregards an exclusively messianic interpretation and instead claims that the heavenly kingdom is representative of the Messiah's kingdom, but also 'the victory of the Maccabees,'[30] which occurred around 200 years before Jesus began his ministry. Ishoʿdad therefore also believes that the fourth earthly empire described in Daniel 2 did not pertain to Rome, but instead to Alexander's Greek empire and its various Seleucid and Ptolemaic successors.

Ishoʿdad's comments on the statue of Daniel 2 do not indicate which other empires correspond to the gold, silver, and bronze of the statue, but later he clarifies that the vision of the four beasts in Daniel 7 is 'the same as that first <vision> of the statue in all respects.'[31] Hence, for Ishoʿdad what can be said of the four beasts in Daniel 7 can also be applied to the statue's components in Daniel 2. Ishoʿdad then explains that the four beasts in Daniel 7 represent the following sequence of Empires: Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece. The little horn of Daniel

---

Commentaries of Ishoʿdad, vol. 1 p. xxxiii-xxxvi; 5.2 p. 123-148; Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139-147*, 242–45.

[25] For example, van den Eynde shows that Ishoʿdad does not believe any of Ezekiel's prophecies are solely messianic, see van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 329/Syr 147 p. VIII-IX. Likewise, Theodore of Mopsuestia believed only four of the Psalms were messianic, see Rooy and Blaising, "The Interpretation of the So-Called Maccabean Psalms by Ishodad of Merv," p. 132–33.

[26] For a discussion and critique of this term, see Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, p. 161–169. For an overview of 'Antiochene exegesis' as it relates to Ishoʿdad, see Rooy, "Reading the Psalms Historically."

[27] For discussion on Ishoʿdad's aversion towards Messianic interpretation, see van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 329/Syr 147 p. V-X.

[28] Dan 2:44, 7:18, 27. These passages can also be construed as meaning that the heavenly kingdom would destroy all of the earthly empires, not just the fourth one.

[29] Dan 9:25-26.

[30] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 104.7-14.

[31] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 112.7-8.

7:8 is Antiochus Epiphanes.[32] Though Ishoʿdad does suggest that Media and Persia might be considered to be one empire, he does not embrace the idea when it comes to interpreting the successive kingdoms prophesied in Daniel.[33]

As his commentary continues, Ishoʿdad maintains his double interpretation of Daniel's heavenly kingdom, claiming that it symbolizes the Maccabees in so far as an outward or superficial sense is concerned, but that it also more deeply refers to Christ. Thus, when commenting on the vision of the four beasts of Daniel 7, Ishoʿdad remarks that the kingdom of the Son of Man, which comes after the fourth beast, 'outwardly concerns the Maccabees, but truly it concerns the Messiah.'[34] This hermeneutical maneuver roughly accords with the Antiochene exegetical practice of placing foundational importance on the *historia* of a passage, while also allowing for a higher or anagogical meaning, often called the *theoria* of a passage.[35]

And, indeed, Ishoʿdad emphasizes what he views as the historical meaning again and again. So, the 'saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7:18 also indicate the Maccabees.[36] The heavenly army of Daniel 8:10 is the Maccabees,[37] and the stone cut without hands that smashes the statue of Daniel 2 is 'the victory of the Maccabees,'[38] though as previously mentioned, in this instance Ishoʿdad will also allow that 'the truth of these things are manifested in our Lord the Messiah.'[39] The final vision of Daniel 10-12 is similarly said by Ishoʿdad to refer to the 'consummation of days' and yet also to refer to the Maccabees,[40] during which the 'abomination' will take place.[41] Even the physical resurrection described in Daniel 12:2-3 pertains to the Maccabees as well.[42] Only in the 70 week prophecy of Daniel 9 and in a brief remark on the final verse of the prophet (Daniel 12:13) does Ishoʿdad present an exclusively messianic interpretation.[43]

---

[32] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 113.7. Antiochus Epiphanes is also the 'little horn' of Daniel's vision of the Ram and the Goat in Dan 8:9, see Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 115.25. This fourfold succession of empires is mentioned once again by Ishoʿdad in his *Commentary on Ezekiel*, see van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 328/Syr 146 p. 46 lines 3-4.
[33] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 114.28-29; 115.12-20.
[34] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 113.24.
[35] McLeod, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 21.
[36] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 113.28.
[37] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 115.29-116.1.
[38] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 104. 8-9.
[39] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 104.10-11.
[40] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 122.2-3.
[41] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 128.9-10.
[42] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 131.21-23. Ishoʿdad also reads the Maccabees into several Psalms, see Rooy and Blaising, "The Interpretation of the So-Called Maccabean Psalms by Ishodad of Merv"; Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139-147*.
[43] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 119.12-120.26, 133.12-16. For further discussion, see van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 329/Syr 147 p. IX-X.

Ishoʿdad's minimization of messianic content was a distinct departure from most Christian authors,[44] and so too was his identification of the Greeks as Daniel's fourth empire. Earlier writers of Latin, Greek, and Syriac tradition had generally emphasized that this empire foretold the coming of Rome,[45] such as pseudo-Barnabas (c. 70-135 CE),[46] Irenaeus (c. 185 CE),[47] Hippolytus of Rome (fl. 200-235 CE),[48] Origen (fl. 225–255 CE),[49] Victorinus (fl. 260-304 CE),[50] Eusebius of Caesarea (fl. 310-339 CE),[51] Aphrahat (c. 345 CE),[52] Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 385 CE),[53] Jerome (c. 420 CE),[54] Theodoret (c. 458 CE),[55] and the *Doctrina Jacobi* (634 CE).[56] Likewise, Jewish interpretations found in Josephus (c. 95 CE),[57] 2 Esdras/4

[44] Such messianic interpretation is evident in many of the authors quoted on this and the next page, see also DiTommaso, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel."

[45] Ishoʿdad does however think that other passages in Daniel do refer to Rome; for example, Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 119.7-11.

[46] *Epistle of Barnabas*, 4.1-5. On this, see Crabbe, "The Generation of Iron and the Final Stumbling Block: The Present Time in Hesiod's Works and Days 106–201 and Barnabas 4," 142–66, especially 158-162.

[47] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5.25.3 (the four beasts); 5.26.1-2 (the four beasts and the statue). Note that Irenaeus indicates that the final earthly kingdom is Rome in 5.26.1. For similar, though less explicit views, see Justin *Martyr* (c. 155 CE), *Dialogue with Trypho* 31-32; Tertullian (c. 200 CE), *Against Marcion* 3.7.

[48] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.11.3-13.4 (the statue); 4.2.2-14.3 (the four beasts); *Christ and the Antichrist* 26-33 (the statue and the four beasts). For further discussion, see Schmidt, *Hippolytus of Rome: Commentary on Daniel and 'Chronicon,'* 16–18; Bracht, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in Hippolytus's Commentary on Daniel."

[49] Origen's views on the statue are quoted in Eusebius, *Preparation of the Gospel* 6.11 and in Philocalia 23.5.

[50] Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.2-3 (the four beasts); 21.3 (the statue). For further discussion on how Rome relates to the final earthly kingdom, see Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 8.2, 12.3.

[51] Eusebius, *Demonstration of the Gospel*, fragment 1 found in Heikel, *Eusebius Werke 6: Demonstratio Evangelica*, GCS 23 frag 1 p. 493-494. (the statue and the four beasts).

[52] Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 5.10-14 (the statue); 5.10, 15-22 (the four beasts). Aphrahat identifies Rome with Esau; on this interpretive maneuver, see Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*, 9–44.

[53] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 15.11-13 (the four beasts).

[54] Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.31-40 §633-634 (the statue); 7.1-28 §662-677 (the four beasts)

[55] Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* 2 §1304 (the statue); 7 §1413-1425 (the four beasts). It should be noted that some of the above-mentioned writers interpret the coming heavenly kingdom as indicative of the church, not as Jesus specifically. For a discussion on various interpretive views of the statue in Daniel 2, see Pfandl, "Interpretations of the Kingdom of God in Daniel 2:44."

[56] *Doctrina Jacobi* 165 (the statue and the four beasts).

[57] Josephus, *Antiquities* 10.208-210 (the statue); 10.276 (Roman identification). Note that Josephus is quite coy with identifying Rome in Daniel's prophecies, but he seems to admit as much in the latter reference.

Ezra (c. 100 CE),[58] 2 Baruch (c. 100 CE),[59] the Babylonian Talmud (c. 5th-6th cent. CE),[60] Sefer Eliyyahu c. 7th cent.),[61] and Rabbi Saadia Gaon (c. 942 CE)[62] appear to credit Rome with being the fourth earthly empire in Daniel as well.[63]

A different opinion, however, was formulated by Porphyry of Tyre, a virulent anti-Christian philosopher who wrote around the year 300 CE. He believed that the book of Daniel was a pseudepigraphal work written in the second century BC, around the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 175-164 BCE).[64] Hence, for him, the first beast was Babylon, the second the Medes and the Persians, the third Alexander the Great, and the fourth the ten successors of Alexander up till Antiochus Epiphanes.[65] In this Porphyry was likely modifying earlier Jewish and Roman periodization of successive empires, as witnessed in documents like the Dead Sea Scrolls work known as *4QFour Kingdoms*,[66] and also in *Sibylline Oracles* 4[67] and in the writings of Aemilius Sura.[68] These latter two enumerate Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedonia (i.e. the Greeks), and Rome reigning one after the other.

---

[58] 2 Esdras 12:10-30. For discussion, see Peursen, "Daniel's Four Kingdoms," 197–98.

[59] 2 Baruch 39. This document does not explicitly mention the prophecies of Daniel, but it seems to be elaborating upon them by following a fourfold succession of empires, culminating in what appears to be the Roman Empire.

[60] *Babylonian Talmud*, Shevuot 6b (the fourth beast). For further discussion on this and other Jewish sources, see Herman, "Persia, Rome and the Four Kingdoms Motif in the Babylonian Talmud," 191–204, especially 194-195; Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*, 9–44.

[61] For discussion, see Shoemaker, *The Apocalypse of Empire*, 93.

[62] Rabbi Saadia Gaon, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.29-45 (the statue); 7.4-7.7 (the four beasts). These may be found in Alobaidi, *The Book of Daniel: The Commentary of R. Saadia Gaon; Edition and Translation*, 450–55, 525–34.

[63] *Targum Jonathan on the Prophets*, Habakkuk 3:17 also gives a similar succession of empires, though does not explicitly correlate it with the visions of Daniel. A Spanish Rabbi, Hayyim ben Galipapa (c. 1310-80 CE), is known to have interpreted the fourth beast as referring to the Greeks and the heavenly kingdoms as referring to the Maccabees, on this see Casey, *Son of Man*, 51–70.

[64] For a lengthy discussion on Porphyry and his interpretation of Daniel, see Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 187–247.

[65] For a description of Porphyry's view, see Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel* 7.7-8 §667. Note that Jerome does not explicitly say how Porphyry identified the first two beasts, but given that Jerome does not disagree with Porphyry's assessment, it is likely that it matched Jerome's own belief. Moreover, the text of Daniel implies that the first beast corresponds to the Babylonian Empire (Dan 2:37), and the second to the Medo-Persian Empire (Dan 5:28), an interpretation that Porphyry likely accepted.

[66] Perrin, "Expressions of Empire and Four Kingdoms Patterns in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls," 96–120, especially 101-107.

[67] For discussion, see Lester, "The Four Kingdoms Motif and Sibylline Temporality in Sibylline Oracles 4."

[68] Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 1.6.6. For discussion, see Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies Opposition History under the Roman Empire." Swain also covers many other Greco-Roman sources and their periodizations of world empires.

Curiously, Porphyry's interpretation of Daniel was loosely followed, perhaps unwittingly, by the Greek theologian Polychronius of Apamea (c. 430 CE), whose brother, Theodore of Mopsuestia would have a great influence upon the Church of the East's exegetical practice. Similar to Porphyry, Polychronius believed that the vision of the statute in Daniel 2 referred to the Babylonians, the Persians (or perhaps the Medes and the Persians), the kingdom of Alexander, and then the successors of Alexander.[69] He used a different periodization to argue that the four beasts in Daniel 7 referred to Babylon, Media, Persia, and finally Alexander's kingdom.[70] But despite a slightly different schema, he still concluded with the successors of Alexander, which he believed were symbolized by the ten horns of the fourth beast.[71] The little horn referred to Antiochus Epiphanes.[72] Yet even Polychronius did not view the heavenly kingdom of Daniel 2:44[73] and 7:18[74] as referring to the Maccabees, as Ishoʿdad of Merv would do.[75]

Ishoʿdad's interpretation of Daniel's four kingdoms, however, can be traced back even earlier in Syriac tradition. It may first appear with Aphrahat (c. 345 CE), who, though claiming that the fourth kingdom of Daniel was Rome,[76] also somewhat puzzlingly believed that Antiochus Epiphanes was the little horn of the fourth beast.[77] Subsequently, Ephrem (c. 373 CE) identified the feet of the statue in Daniel 2 as Egypt, perhaps thinking that the ten kings who would emerge from Daniel's fourth kingdom were to be Greek Ptolemaic kings, not Roman emperors, yet as with Aphrahat he may have had a somewhat convoluted explanation for the statute of which we are unaware.[78] More definite is Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. 540 CE), a Greek writer though a member of the Syriac Church of the East. He believed that the statue and the four beasts in Daniel were representative of the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, and finally the Greeks.[79] He even says 'concerning the Roman Empire, nothing is expressly written in the Prophet.'[80] He does not correlate the Daniel's heavenly kingdom with the Maccabees though.

---

[69] Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.37-43 (TLG #4446.003). It should be noted that I am not entirely clear whether the work I am here attributing to Polychronius of Apamea should be wholly attributed to him, for it seems to be either extracts of his words taken from a catena, or reports of his words. For example, in the Greek text of the TLG database the author of the commentary refers to Polychronius in the third person at 7.8 line 25.
[70] Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 7.2-7, 17.
[71] Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 7.24.
[72] Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 7.8.
[73] Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.44.
[74] Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 7.18.
[75] Polychronius did though believe that Daniel 12:1-2 pertained to the Maccabees, see Polychronius, *Commentary on Daniel* 12.1-2.
[76] Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 5.10, 14, 19.
[77] Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 5.20.
[78] Ephrem, *Hymns on Nisibis* 34.6.
[79] Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* 2 p. 68-73 [144-148]
[80] Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* 2 p. 70 [146] (trans. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas.*)

In the early sixth century, Peshitta manuscripts of Daniel begin including headings that identify the four kingdoms in Daniel 7 as referring to the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians and the Greeks.[81] It is unclear when these headings were first added to the Peshitta, but some scholars believe they were inserted well before the sixth century.[82] Yet, the headings also do not identify the heavenly kingdom with the Maccabees.

However, the closest analogs to Ishoʿdad's exegesis can be found in the Syriac pseudo-Ephrem, *Commentary on Daniel*[83] and in Theodore bar Koni's *Book of Scholia*.[84] Pseudo-Ephrem stipulates that the iron legs of the statue in Daniel 2 represent Alexander the Great, its toes his ten successors, and the heavenly kingdom the Maccabees (and also Jesus).[85] He interprets the four beasts of Daniel 7 in a similar fashion.[86] Ishoʿdad undoubtedly had access to pseudo-Ephrem's commentary because he appears to refer to it three different times.[87] The commentary can also be found in a manuscript dating to 861 CE,[88] which in of itself implies that its original composition was at least some decades or even centuries before, thus predating Ishoʿdad's literary activity around 850 CE.

Ishoʿdad also made use of Theodore bar Koni (c. 793 CE), or at least a source used by him.[89] Hence, Theodore interprets Daniel's dream of the statue and the four beasts along the same avenue as Ishoʿdad and pseudo-Ephrem,[90] and likewise posits that Daniel's heavenly kingdom is doubly fulfilled by the Maccabees and

---

[81] Peshitta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac, according to the Peshiṭta version*, IV. The earliest manuscript to contain these headings is MS British Library Add. 14.445 dating to 532 CE.

[82] Peursen, "Daniel's Four Kingdoms," 195–99.

[83] For the Syriac edition of this text along with a Latin translation, see Assemani, *Ephraem Syri Opera omnia*, vol. 5(syr.2) p. 203-233. For further discussion on the authorship of Pseudo-Ephrem, see Botha, "The Reception of Daniel Chapter 2 in the Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian Church Father"; Botha, "The Relevance of the Book of Daniel." Botha believes it is possible, even likely, that Ephrem actually wrote the aforementioned commentary, though this is in disagreement with most other scholars; see, for example, Peursen, "Daniel's Four Kingdoms," 196 n.28.

[84] Scher, *Liber Scholiorum*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore Bar Koni: Livre des Scolies (Recension de Séert)*.

[85] Pseudo-Ephrem, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.38-44 (Assemani vol. 5(syr.2) p. 206). For an English translation of this passage, see Botha, "The Reception of Daniel Chapter 2 in the Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian Church Father."

[86] Pseudo-Ephrem, *Commentary on Daniel* 7.4-22 (Assemani vol. 5(syr.2) p. 214-216). Note especially 7.22 which discusses the Maccabees. For a discussion concerning the visions of Daniel in pseudo-Ephrem and many of the above writers, see Peursen, "Daniel's Four Kingdoms"; Casey, *Son of Man*.

[87] Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 110.4-8, 119.10, 120.2-3.

[88] The pseudo-Ephrem commentary can be found in MS Vat. Sir. 103 pt. 2 f. 181v-190v, transcribed by the monk Severus in 861 CE. For pictures of the manuscript, see https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.103.pt.2

[89] See footnote 23 above.

[90] Theodore bar Koni, *Book of Scholia* 5.10-12.

Jesus.[91] Ishoʿdad further shares many other passages in common with Theodore, particularly regarding difficult words and phrases present in the Syriac text of Daniel and Daniel's famous vision of the 70 weeks.[92]

It also seems that Ishoʿdad used the *Selected Questions* of Ishoʿ bar Nun (c. 828 CE),[93] or some kind of shared source,[94] but a more detailed analysis of the relationship between Ishoʿdad's *Commentary on Daniel* and Ishoʿ bar Nun's work will likely need to wait until Ishoʿ bar Nun's *Selected Questions* is fully published.

Further studies of other interpretations of Daniel will likely be quite helpful at illuminating the options that Ishoʿdad had before him when it came to explaining Daniel's fourth kingdom.[95] For example, certain writers rejected both the standard Roman interpretation of the fourth kingdom, but also Ishoʿdad's Greek interpretation. So, Pseudo-Methodius (c. 692 CE) seems to combine the Greeks and the Romans (along with the Ethiopians and the Macedonians) into a single fourth empire,[96] whereas the *Gospel of the Twelve* (c. 700 CE)[97] and the Armenian writer Sebeos (c. 660 CE) attribute the fourth kingdom to the Arabs.[98]

Similarly, Ishoʿdad's *Commentary on Daniel* might be fruitfully compared to later Syriac exegetes, such as Dionysius bar Ṣalibi's *Commentary on Daniel*[99] and especially the anonymous works *Gannat Bussāme* and the *Diyarbakir Commentary*, both of which draw from Ishoʿdad.[100] It would also be of great interest to examine Medieval writers outside of Christian tradition who also dealt with Danielic material,[101] such as the Jewish author Rabbi Saadia Gaon (c. 942 CE),[102] or the

---

[91] Theodore bar Koni, *Book of Scholia* 5.11, 5.12, 5.14.25.
[92] Theodore bar Koni, *Book of Scholia* 5.13-14.
[93] See van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 328/146 preface.
[94] See footnote 23 above
[95] For detailed footnotes demonstrating connections between Ishoʿdad's *Commentary on Daniel* and works by Theodoret, Theodore bar Koni, and others, see the many footnotes in the French translation provided in van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, CSCO vol. 329/Syr. 147 p. 116-158.
[96] *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* §8. For a translation, see Martinez, "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period."
[97] Penn, *When Christians First Met Muslims*, 146–55. This text is also called the *Apocalypse of John the Little*. Note that the *Gospel of the Twelve* does not explicitly interpret Daniel's visions of the statue and the four beasts, but it does seem to adapt the same four kingdom schema found in Daniel.
[98] Sebeos, *History* 32.
[99] For a digital transcription of Dionysius bar Ṣalibi's *Commentary on Daniel*, see https://syriaccorpus.org/245
[100] These two commentaries used Ishoʿdad so extensively that van den Eynde utilized them as textual witnesses to Ishoʿdad's work, see vol. 328/146 preface. See also an epitome of Ishoʿdad of Merv's works in Molenberg, *The Commentary on the Books of the Holy Prophets*.
[101] For discussion on the background of the Islamic reception of Daniel, see Hjälm, "The Four Kingdom Schema and the Seventy Weeks in the Arabic Reception of Daniel."
[102] Alobaidi, *The Book of Daniel: The Commentary of R. Saadia Gaon; Edition and Translation*.

Muslim writers Al-Bīrūnī (c. 1050 CE)[103] and Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād al-Marwazī (c. 844 CE).[104] The latter should be of particular consideration because he hailed from the same hometown as Ishoʿdad and lived at the same time. These sources might also help to interpret the statement of Liutprand of Cremona (c. 972 CE) that in the tenth century Greeks and Muslims were examining the prophecies of Daniel in order to ascertain the future, even waging war according to their interpretation.[105]

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

This Syriac text edition follows the Syriac edition of Ceslas van den Eynde, who based his text upon MS J, which is MS Syriac 10 of the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1380 CE).[106] Van den Eynde did also consult one other manuscript of Ishoʿdad's commentary (MS L) and the manuscripts of a few other unpublished writers who made use of Ishoʿdad's commentary (or have some other relationship with it). These are Ishoʿ bar Nun's, *Selected Questions* (MS Y), the anonymous *Gannat Bussāme* (MS G), and the anonymous *Diyarbakir Commentary* (MS D). Van den Eynde also occasionally drew from Theodore bar Koni's *Book of Scholia*.

I follow the text of MS J supplied by van den Eynde and note whenever I instead follow a reading of the Peshitta[107] or of MSS D, G, Y, or L, all of whose readings are supplied in van den Eynde's footnotes. These readings I checked directly from MS D via pictures from the Hill Manuscript Library. I also occasionally checked pictures of MS J. However, due to the recent pandemic, I have not been able to obtain pictures of MSS Y, L, and G, though these latter two manuscripts are only responsible for a few unique readings and so I have placed these readings in the footnotes.[108] MS Y did not have any unique readings. There were also several instances when the text of van den Eynde was in error and so I note when I made corrections. Some of these corrections were also noticed by the digitizer of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon's digital text.[109] On a few occasions I followed van den Eynde's emendations for my translation, but noted the Syriac text of his emendation in the footnotes.[110] I also standardized spelling on occasion, though without noting such instances.

---

[103] Al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* 3, found in Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 18–22. The Arabic title of this work is الآثار الباقية عن القرون الخالية.

[104] Cook, "An Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse," 62.

[105] Liutprand of Cremona, *The Embassy to Constantinople* 29-43. A translation of this work may be found in Wright, *The Works of Liudprand Of Cremona*.

[106] Van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 328/146 preface.

[107] Peshitta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac, according to the Peshiṭta version.*

[108] MS G is followed in 120.14 and MS L in 122.14 and 128.4. These readings are placed in the footnotes of the Syriac text in order to honor copyright laws.

[109] http://cal.huc.edu/

[110] These readings are at 126.10, 133.7, and 136.17. As with the three manuscript readings noted above, these readings are placed in the footnotes of the Syriac text in order to honor copyright laws.

This translation is fairly literal so as to help the reader move between the English and Syriac. A literal style also seemed best given that Ishoʿdad's commentary often takes the form of notes. However, I have at times turned independent clauses into dependent clauses and vice-versa in order to maintain coherent English style. In the footnotes I have mostly limited myself to textual and translational notes. For the sake of clarity, I often identify the historical personages to which Ishoʿdad refers, such as indicating that a 'Demetrius' is 'Demetrius II.'

Other conventions are as follows:

- Proper names are spelled according to NRSV whenever possible, otherwise conventional spellings are used.
- Biblical versification follows the NRSV not the LXX or Peshitta. The Prayer of Azariah is denoted as 'Pr Azar' and also as 'chapter 3' of Daniel. Bel and the Dragon is denoted as simply 'chapter 14' of Daniel.
- Syriac is transliterated according to the Library of Congress Romanization Table.
- Page and line numbers are taken from van den Eynde's Syriac edition.
- Words not in Syriac, but implied, are given between < > except for derivatives of 'to be' and conjunctions such as 'and.'
- Scripture references are given in line between ().
- Abbreviations for Biblical books follow the SBL Handbook of Style.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS J MS Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem Syriac 10 (1380 CE) http://syri.ac/syriac-10-exegesis-old-testament

MS D MS Mosul-Diyarbakir 13 (formerly MS Diyarbakir 22) (14th century CE) https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/502945

MS L MS British Museum. Or. 4524 (17/18th century CE)

MS G MS Vatican syr. 494 (no date given)

MS Y MS Cambridge Add. 2017 (no date given)

ABBREVIATIONS

CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

GCS Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller

TLG Thesaurus Linguae Graecae

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alobaidi, Joseph, ed. *The Book of Daniel: The Commentary of R. Saadia Gaon; Edition and Translation*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006.

Assemani, Giuseppe Simone. *Bibliotheca orientalis*. 3 vols. Romae: Sacra Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719-1728.

https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/topic/titles/17267?&facets=name%3D%22Assemani%2C%20Giuseppe%20Simone%22.

———. *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine, in sex tomos distributa*. 6 vols. Rome: Vatican, 1732–1743.

Botha, Phil J. "The Reception of Daniel Chapter 2 in the Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian Church Father." *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 17 (2006): 119–43.

———. "The Relevance of the Book of Daniel for Fourth-Century Christianity According to the Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian." In *Die Geschichte Der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum Und Islam*, edited by Katharina Bracht and David S. du Toit, 99–122. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Bracht, Katharina. "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in Hippolytus's Commentary on Daniel." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 167–90. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

Casey, Maurice. *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1979.

Clarke, Ernest George. *The Selected Questions of Ishō Bar Nūn on the Pentateuch: Edited and Translated from MS Cambridge Add. 2017 with a Study of the Relationship of Ishōʿdādh of Merv, Theodore Bar Kōnī and Ishō Bar Nūn on Genesis*. Studia Post-Biblica 5. Leiden: Brill, 1962.

Cook, David. "An Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse." *Arabica* 49, no. 1 (2002): 55–96.

Cook, John Granger. *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002.

Crabbe, Kylie. "The Generation of Iron and the Final Stumbling Block: The Present Time in Hesiod's Works and Days 106–201 and Barnabas 4." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 142–66. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo. "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in the Early Mediaeval Apocalyptic Tradition." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 205–250. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

Euringer, Sebastian. "Des Îšôʿ Dâd von Maru Kommentar zum Hohenlied." *Oriens Christianus* 3.7(29) (1932): 49–74.

Eynde, Ceslas van den, ed. *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*. 6 vols. CSCO/Scriptores Syri, 156/75, 176/80, 179/81, 229/96, 230/97, 303/128, 304/129, 328/146, 329/147, 433/185, 434/186. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1950-1981.

Eynde, Ceslas van den, and J.-M. Vosté, eds. *Commentaire d'Iso'dad de Merv Sur l'Ancien Testament, I. Genèse*. CSCO/Scriptores Syri 126/67. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1955.

Gibson, Margaret Dunlop, ed. *The Commentaries of Ishoʿdad of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha (c. 850 A.D.) in Syriac and English*. 5 vols. Horae Semiticae. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911-1916.

Heikel, Ivar A., ed. *Eusebius Werke 6: Demonstratio Evangelica*. GCS 23. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913. http://archive.org/details/eusebiuswerke06euse.

Herman, Geoffrey. "Persia, Rome and the Four Kingdoms Motif in the Babylonian Talmud." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 191–204. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

Hespel, Robert, and René Draguet, eds. *Théodore Bar Koni: Livre des Scolies (Recension de Séert)*. CSCO/Scriptores Syri 431-432/187-188. Louvain: Peeters, 1981-1982.

Hjälm, Miriam. "The Four Kingdom Schema and the Seventy Weeks in the Arabic Reception of Daniel." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 251–74. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

Hofstra, Johan D. "Isho' Bar Nun's 'Questions and Answers' on the Gospel of St. John and Their Relation to the Commentary of Isho'dad of Merv and Theodore Bar Koni's Scholion." *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56, no. 1 (2004): 69–93.

———, ed. *Isho'dad of Merw: Commentary on the Gospel of John*. CSCO/Scriptores Syri 671-672/259-260. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.

Leonhard, Clemens. *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139-147: A Study of His Interpretation in the Light of the Syriac Translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary*. CSCO/Subsidia 585/107. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.

Lester, Olivia Stewart. "The Four Kingdoms Motif and Sibylline Temporality in Sibylline Oracles 4." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 121–41. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

Martinez, Francisco Javier. "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius." Ph.D., The Catholic University of America, 1985. http://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/303368158/abstract/D26499E90A4E479EPQ/1.

McCrindle, J. W., trans. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1897.

McLeod, Frederick G. *Theodore of Mopsuestia*. 2nd ed. The Early Church Fathers. London: Routledge, 2009.

Molenberg, Corrie, ed. *The Commentary on the Books of the Holy Prophets in a Manuscript in Leningrad (Публичная Библиотека, Собрание Духовной Академии Б II № 57): An Epitome of Išoʿdad of Merv*. CSCO/Subsidia 494/77. Leuven: Peeters, 1987.

Penn, Michael Philip. *When Christians First Met Muslims: A Sourcebook of the Earliest Syriac Writings on Islam*. Univiersity of California Press, 2015.

Perrin, Andrew B. "Expressions of Empire and Four Kingdoms Patterns in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, edited by Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 96–120. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 28. Leiden: Brill, 2021. https://brill.com/view/title/59157.

Peshitta Institute. *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta version: Dodekapropheton - Daniel-Bel-Draco*, 3.4. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Peursen, Wido van. "Daniel's Four Kingdoms in the Syriac Tradition." In *Tradition and Innovation in Biblical Interpretation. Studies Presented to Professor Eep Talstra on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by Wido van Peursen and J.W. Dyk, 189–208. Studia Semitica Neerlandica 57. Leiden: Brill, 2011. https://www.academia.edu/5852462/_Daniel_s_Four_Kingdoms_in_the_Syriac_Tradition_in_W_Th_van_Peursen_and_J_W_Dyk_Tradition_and_Innovation_in_Biblical_Interpretation_Studies_Presented_to_Professor_Eep_Talstra_on_the_Occasion_of_his_Sixty_Fifth_Birthday_SSN_57_Leiden_Brill_2011.

Pfandl, Gerhard. "Interpretations of the Kingdom of God in Daniel 2:44." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 34, no. 2 (1996): 249–68.

Rompay, Lucas van. "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Church of the Middle Ages." In *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, edited by Magne Saebo, 1.2:559–77. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

———. "Ishoʿdad of Merv." In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, George Anton Kiraz, and Lucas van Rompay. Gorgias Press; online ed. Beth Mardutho, 2011; 2018. https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Ishodad-of-Merv.

———. "Išoʿ Bar Nun and Išoʿdad of Merv: New Data for the Study of the Interdependence of Their Exegetical Works." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977): 229–49.

———. "Pawlos of Tella." In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, George Anton Kiraz, and Lucas van Rompay. Gorgias Press; online ed. Beth Mardutho, 2011; 2018. https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Pawlos-of-Tella.

———. "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation." In *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, edited by Magne Saebo, 1.1:612–41. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.

Rooy, Harry F. van. "Reading the Psalms Historically: Antiochene Exegesis and a Historical Reading of Psalm 46." *Acta Theologica* 29, no. 2 (December 2009): 120–34.

Rooy, Harry F. van, and Craig Blaising. "The Interpretation of the So-Called Maccabean Psalms by Ishodad of Merv." In *Biblical & Qur'ānic Traditions in the Middle East*, edited by Cornelia B. Horn and Sidney Harrison Griffith, 129–48. Eastern Mediterranean Texts and Contexts 2. Warwick, RI: Abelian Academic, 2016.

Sachau, Edward, trans. *Al-Biruni: The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athâr-Ul-Bâkiya of Albîrûnî, Or "Vestiges of the Past."* London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain & Ireland, 1879.

Salvesen, Alison. "Syro-Hexapla." In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, George Anton Kiraz, and Lucas van Rompay. Gorgias Press; online ed. Beth Mardutho, 2011; 2018. https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Syro-Hexapla.

Scher, Addai, ed. *Liber Scholiorum. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. CSCO/Syr. II/Scriptores Syri, 55,69/65,66/19,26. Paris: L. Durbecq, 1910-1912. https://archive.org/details/liberscholiorumt00theo.

Schliebitz, Johannes. *Išôdâdh's Kommentar zum Buche Hiob*. Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1906. https://archive.org/details/iddhskommentarz00schlgoog/page/n26/mode/2up.

Schmidt, Thomas, trans. *Hippolytus of Rome: Commentary on Daniel and "Chronicon."* Gorgias Dissertations 67. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017.

Shoemaker, Stephen J. *The Apocalypse of Empire: Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Sivertsev, Alexei. *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Swain, Joseph Ward. "The Theory of the Four Monarchies Opposition History under the Roman Empire." *Classical Philology* 35, no. 1 (1940): 1–21.

Uciecha, Andrzej. "Egzegeza Biblijna W Komentarzach Syryjskich Afrahata, Efrema, Iszodada Z Merw I Teodora Bar Koni: Zarys Problematyki [Biblical Exegesis in the Syriac Commentaries of Aphrahat, Ephraim the Syrian, Ishodad of Merv and Theodore Bar Koni: The Outline of Issues]." *Vox Patrum* 37[67] (2017): 673–88.

Wright, F. A., trans. *The Works of Liudprand Of Cremona*. London: George Routlege, 1930. http://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.168391.

Young, Frances M. *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. http://site.ebrary.com/id/10450680.

OUTLINE

Introduction 101.1-4
Historical and Genealogical Background 101.5-102.6
Jewish Criticisms of Daniel 102.7-27
Dan 1 ..... 102.28
Dan 2 ..... 103.22
Dan 3 ..... 105.13
Prayer of Azariah 106.12
Dan 4 ..... 107.4
Dan 5 ..... 110.3
Dan 6 ..... 111.7
Dan 7 ..... 112.3
Dan 8 ..... 114.15
Dan 9 ..... 118.1
Dan 10 ..... 121.8
Dan 11 ..... 123.17
Dan 12 ..... 130.27
Bel and the Dragon 133.23
Chronological Appendix 135.18

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

101 [1] A commentary on Daniel the prophet.
[2] Again, a commentary on Daniel the prophet by the same saint
[3] of God, Mar Ishoʿdad of Hadatha. Our Lord, help me by your mercy
[4] Amen.
[5] Daniel was the son of Jehoiachin. <Similarly>, the husband of Susanna
[6] –<who was> the sister of Jeremiah the prophet, the son of Hilkiah—was also the son of Jehoiachin.
[7] And Jehoiachin, and Hananiah, and Azariah, and Mishael were the sons of Jehoiakim.
[8] So these <latter> three were the paternal uncles of Daniel.
[9] The deportation of Daniel and these three was before that of Ezekiel
[10] by eight years, as the following <demonstrates>. For in the first year of
[11] Nebuchadnezzar, which was the third year of Jehoiakim,
[12] Nebuchadnezzar came and conquered Jerusalem. And among the captives <Nebuchadnezzar> took
[13] with him as hostages the three sons of Jehoiakim
[14] and Daniel, <Jehoiakim's> grandson, so that <Jehoiakim> would not rebel against him. But in the tenth
[15] year of Jehoiakim, he rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar. And
[16] Nebuchadnezzar came and subdued Jerusalem. And he killed Jehoiakim
[17] in <Jehoiakim's> eleventh year. And <Nebuchadnezzar> made Jehoiachin, his son, king. But
[18] after three months he rebelled against the Babylonian. And Nebuchadnezzar
[19] deported him to Babylon along with the <other> captives, Ezekiel being
[20] among them[a]. (2 Kgs 24:1-6, 10-16) Therefore, they stray from truth who have said
[21] that the captivity of Daniel was before that of Ezekiel by eleven
[22] years.
[23] After Jehoiachin, the Babylonian made Mattaniah, his paternal uncle, king,
[24] who is Zedekiah. And, Pharaoh named Eliakim *'Jehoiakim'* (2 Kgs 23:34)
[25] and to Jehoiachin, Jeremiah gave the name *'Jeconiah.'*[b] (Jer 28:1-11) And to Mattaniah, Nebuchadnezzar
[26] gave the name *'Zedekiah.'* (2 Kgs 24:17) And in the eleventh year of this man
[27] Jerusalem was subdued and he blinded the eyes of Zedekiah at Riblah. (2 Kgs 25:6-7, Jer 39:6-7) That is,

101 [1] [c]ܟܬܒ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ

[2] ܐܫܡܥ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܟܬܒ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܠ

[3] .ܫܒܝܬܐ ܒܐܪܥ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[4] .ܢܒܝ

[5] ܒܥܕܢ ܫܠܚ ܒܟ .ܢܒܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ,ܡܪܕܟ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[6] .ܢܒܝܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܠ ܐܬ ܟܬܒ ܟܒܝܪܐ ܡܫ

[7] :ܒܢܝܐ ,ܡܢܐ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܟܐܪܟܐ ܟܠܫ ܢܒܝܐ

[8] .ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ,ܡܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܠܟ ,ܐܠܐ ܐܫܡ ܫܒ

[9] ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܐܠܗ ܠܫܢܐ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܐ

[10] ܐܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܠܗ .ܒܝܬ ܫܒ .ܡܠܟ ܟܬܒ

[11] ܐܠܗ :ܒܢܝܐ ܠܟ ܒܢ ,ܡܠܟ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[12] ܐܢ ܐܠܗ ܒܐ .ܐܠܝܩܡ ,ܡܢܐ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[13] :ܒܢܝܐ ,ܡܢܐ ܐܠܗ .ܐ ,ܐܝܬܡܢ ܫܒ ,ܡܒ

[14] ܒܢܐ .ܡܠܟ ,ܐܒ ܐܠ ܫܒ .ܡܢ ܐܬ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[15] ܐܡ ܠܡܐ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܠܟ ,ܐܒ .ܒܢܝܐ ,ܒܡ

[16] :ܒܢܝܐ ,ܡܠܟ .ܐܠܝܩܡ ,ܡܢܐ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[17] ܫܒ .ܡܢ ,ܒܢܝܐ ,ܡܠܟ ,ܐ .ܐܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܫܒ ,ܒܢ

[18] ,ܡܢܐ .ܐܠܗ ܠܟ ,ܐܒ ,ܐܠ ,ܐܠܗ ,ܐܒ ,ܐܡ

[19] ,ܒܢ ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ܐܬ .ܐܠܗ ,ܒܐ ,ܠܟ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ

[20] ,ܐܒܝ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܒ ,ܐܝ ,ܒܐ ,ܐ .ܐܠܗ ,ܐܡ

[21] ,ܐܬ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ,ܐܝܪܡܝܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܒ ,ܒܢ

[22] .ܡܠܟ

[23] ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[24] :ܒܢܝܐ ,ܡ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[25] ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[26] ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[27] .ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[a] Lit: among the captives.

[b] A marginal note in several manuscripts adds ‘for Jeconiah broke the yoke of Jeremiah.’

[c] This title is in the margin of the MSS.

102 in Dipnah which is near Antioch. And <Nebuchadnezzar> brought him to Babylon. And he commanded
him to grind at a millstone all the days of his life.
But after he was deported to Babylon, Daniel lived until the
third year of Cyrus the Persian, that is, for fifty-five years. And he saw
with his own eyes the restoration of the people. But he did not return to <the city>
because his wages and his remuneration exceeded that of the restoration.
Now, the Jews do not believe <Daniel> to be a prophet because
they are fooled by the variation of his composition.[a] They are tales[b] and dreams, they say,
which he saw, and not a revelation in wakefulness, like the rest prophets <saw>.[c]
But let them know that if it is the work of a prophet to know
secrets and to reveal the future, then indeed <Daniel> acquired both <gifts>. And if
they should say that he <only> interprets and sees dreams and that, since
Pharaoh and Joseph are not called prophets, neither should Daniel be, then let them know
that though he is not a prophet because he sees dreams, he is however
a prophet by declaring secrets. For behold, on the twenty-fourth day of
Nisan (Dan 10:4), in wakefulness, he saw an angel and all the future things
<the angel> revealed to him. And so, if by this <Daniel> is not a prophet, then indeed
Zechariah is also not a prophet because all the things which he saw were interpreted by an angel (Zech 1:9).
And it might be asked that if men deserve punishment,
why did God hand over the sacred vessels to the barbaric
wrong doers?[d] It was to show them in <these> actions
that you <Jews> are no better in any respect than barbarians. And it is just the same if you
keep them or the barbarians. <Nebuchadnezzar> brought the
sacred vessels into the treasury of idols for the honor of his idol, just as
David <brought> the sword of Goliath (1 Sam 21:9) and the Philistines <brought> the ark and the armor
of Saul into the house of Dagon (1 Sam 5:2, 31:9-10), in as much as from it they received victory
against their enemies.
'Ashpenaz the leader of the mhaymene,' (Dan 1:3) that is, he was the chief of the officers.
For it is said *'mhaymene'* has two meanings; 'officers' or
'eunuchs.'

102

[1] ܕܒܒܐ ܘ ܠܟܠ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܕܒܒܐ ܘ ܒܒܐ
[2] ܕܫܠܡ ܒܫܠܡ ܟܠ ܫܢܐ ܫܢܐ ܘܫܢܐ ܕܫܢܐ
[3] ܒܫܠܡ ܕܒܒܐ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܒܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܒܒܐ ܥܡ ܫܒܐ
[4] ܕܒܒܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܒܫܠܡ ܫܠܡ ܕܫܠܡ ܒܫܠܡ ܫܠܡ
[5] ܕܒܒܐ ܘ ܫܠܡ ܒܒܐ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܕܒܒܐ[e] ܕܒܒܐ ܕܒܒܐ ܘܫܠܡ
[6] ܕܒܒܐ ܫܠܡ ܒܟ ܫܠܡ ܠܟܠ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܫܒܐ ܕܒ
[7] ܘܫܠ ܘ ܕܫܠܡ ܕܒܒܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܟܠ ܥܡ ܕܒܒܐ
[8] ܕܒܒܐ ܠܟ ܫܠܡ ܟܠܒܒ ܫܠܡ ܫܠܡ ܫܠܡ ܫܠܡ ܕܒܒܐ
[9] ܕܒܒ ܕܒܒ ܫܒ ܘ ܕܠܟܠ ܕܒܒ ܠܫ ܕܒ
[10] ܕܒܒ ܕܒܒ ܫܒܒ ܫܠ ܫܒ ܫܒ ܟܠ
[11] ܫܒ ܕܒ ܥܡܫܝܚ ܫܠ ܒܟ ܘ ܕܫܠܝܚ ܫܒܒ ܕܫܠ
[12] ܒܟܠܝ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܒܢ ܘ ܕܒ ܒܒ ܕܒܒ ܫܒ
[13] ܫܒ ܘ ܟܠ ܕܒ ܟܒ ܫܠ ܕܒ ܕܒ ܫ
[14] ܕܒܒ ܟܠ ܘ ܠܫ ܕܒ ܠ ܕܒ ܕܒ ܘܫ ܟܠ
[15] ܥܡ ܕܒ ܟܒ ܒܠ ܒ ܠ ܕܠ ܠ ܕܒ ܕܫ
[16] ܒ ܘ ܒ ܕ ܘ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ
[17] ܕ ܠ ܕ ܠ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ
[18] ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ

103 [1] *'The language of the Chaldeans,'* (Dan 1:4) that is, <the language> of the
Syrians.
[2] *'Ration,'* (Dan 1:5) that is, the provision of the day. And this is comparable
to <the verse>
[3] *'it is your ration and the ration of your sons'* (Lev 10:13) and <the verse>
'the ration which was allotted [a]
[4] *to the pagan priests from the presence of Pharaoh,'* (Gen 47:22) that is, the portion
[5] which was decreed and designated for them, firstly because they were
from the sons of kings,
[6] and secondly, so that their reasoning would be more lucid
[7] and their understanding sharper, and also so that they would be more
handsome
[8] in their appearance.
[9] *'Belteshazzar'* (Dan 1:7) <means> the statue of Bel. *'Shadrach'* <means>
ambassador. *'Meshach'* <means>
[10] he who measure the earth. *'Abednego'* <means> servant of the court,
who enters and exits
[11] before kings. *'Nebuchadnezzar'* <means> image of Nābo. Others
[12] say <as> a young boy <Nebuchadnezzar> was cast before Nābo the
idol and
[13] he shrieked[b] and wept and howled. And the name from the two <terms>
[14] they joined and bestowed upon him, <that is> from 'Nābo' and from
'neṣar,' etc.[c]
[15] *'They placed in their minds that they would not eat from the royal food'* (Dan
1:8)
[16] on account of love toward God and from fear of he alone who
[17] perhaps might return them from a foreign country to their land[d] etc.
[18] *'Seed pods,'* (Dan 1:12) which are called lentils and chickpeas and beans
[19] etc. They would have been soaked or cooked
[20] *'Fine Appearance,'* (Dan 1:13) something which was worthy and perfect in
appearance. Others
[21] say that <this refers to> complexion[e] which is established in itself while not
being changed by anything.
[22] *'His spirit was disturbed.'* (Dan 2:1) That is, on account of the fear
[23] that his spirit was close to leaving his body. *'His sleep was upon him'*
[24] that is, he was still in sleep.
[25] *'Your judgement is one.'* (Dan 2:9) That is, *'I have decreed one decree*
[26] *against you.'*
[27] *'Illumination is with him.'* (Dan 2:22) That is, all hidden actions and
[28] words are uncovered and manifested before him like

103

[a] Or: was an allotment.

[b] From the Syriac root *nṣr*.

[c] Ishoʿdad here presents an argument that Nebuchadnezzar received his name by combining the name of the god 'Nābo' with *nṣr* the root of 'shriek.'

[d] Lit: place.

[e] Or: color.

[f] Following MS D p.468 lines 18-19. MS J reads

104 the shining light of the sun. And his very nature dwells in light and
is light.
'Your dream and the vision of your head.' (Dan 2:28) That is, the dream, he says,
which you saw with the organs of your head, which possess[a] the senses of sight
and of hearing. *'While you were on your couch.'* That is, on <your> bed.
'A great statue.' (Dan 2:31) The world.
'A stone <cut out> without hands.' (Dan 2:34) A divine activity
and judgment which goes out against these nations, even the victory
of the Maccabees which went forth unto the ends of creation. This is
that which by itself filled all the earth. (Dan 2:35) But the truth of these things are manifested in our Lord
the Messiah. The stone is our Lord who was born from the Virgin
without carnal union and beyond nature. *'From a mountain,'* from the lineage
of Abraham or David. *'Which filled,'* that is, his message[b] that went out and spread over
into all the earth and subdued all the teachings
and all the nations with his teaching. *'And smashed the great statue.'*
That is, Satan, etc.
'<The toes> of the feet were partly iron' etc. (Dan 2:42) That is,
some will be powerful and some will be weak. *'The iron*
which was mixed,' that is, they will be married to one another, though far from love.
This <refers to the verse> *'they do not adhere to one another'* (Dan 2:43), that is, even though they are married
to one another, yet they are far from love etc. Just as
Ptolemy the Egyptian[c] did, who gave his daughter Cleopatra[d]
to Alexander the Little,[e] son of Antiochus Epiphanes.
And in the end, <Ptolemy> took her from him and gave her to Demetrius the Antiochene[f]
and killed her husband. There are three places which
this prophet speaks concerning him.[g] *'So they will mingle in the seed*
of men.' (Dan 2:43) That is to say, the twenty kings, which are represented in the digits <of the statue>
will not harm the people of the Jews, except in the time of the Maccabees.

104

[a] Lit: are.
[b] Or: gospel.
[c] Ptolemy VI Philometer.
[d] Cleopatra Thea.
[e] Alexander Balas.
[f] Demetrius II Nicator.
[g] Van den Eynde believes that Isho'dad means to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes here and is thinking of Dan 7:8, 25; 8:9-12; 9:21-45. It is possible though that Isho'dad is referring to Ptolemy VI and is thinking of Dan 2:42, 43, and 11:27. Van den Eynde also thinks that perhaps this sentence was originally a marginal note.
[h] Following MS D p. 469 line 5. MS J reads ܟܠܗ
[i] Following MS D p. 469 line 6. MS J reads ܒܥܝܕ
[j] Following MS D p. 469 line 10. MS J omits ܗܘ

105 It is necessary to understand that to Ezekiel the world was seen by means of a chariot, (Ezek 1:4-21) <so> also to Daniel <the world was seen> by means of the great sea from which the four creatures emerged (Dan 7:1-8). And lest you think that only by similar <images> may the Lord administer his foresight[a], he reveals the world and his kingdom to Nebuchadnezzar by this great statue of the four forms. For Nebuchadnezzar did not innocently[b] make that statue on the plain of Deira, but <it was> because God had showed him in a dream the great statue which was of four materials. And <because> Daniel had said to him that the three <latter materials> would destroy the head of gold (Dan 2:32, 38, 44), <so> he made an entire statue of gold, the wretch thinking that thusly he would prove[c] the foretold word of God to be false and that his kingdom would not end—aside from[d] another reason, which we will speak of below. *'Baǧpipes,'*[e] *<that is,>* flutes.[f] (Dan 3:5) And it might be asked why Daniel was not asked to worship that statue. (Dan 3:15) For it was because <the statue>, which had been made, concerned the name of Bel their god and <because> Daniel himself had also been named *'the statue of Bel.'*[g] <So then>, though he did not worship it, he would <still> be considered a worshiper <of Bel> and Bel would <thus still> be with Daniel <as much as> with the others. Because of this, he was not asked to worship. The reason for the statue is that <Nebuchadnezzar> desired with it to test, as with a furnace, the friends and the enemies of his kingdom. And on account of this, he commanded that diverse nations be gathered, the Argadiens, etc. And because it was not new for these nations to worship statues, they worshiped it. But Daniel's friends did not exchange the worship of their Lord for the worship of a statue. *'It is not necessary for us to answer you in this matter.'* (Dan 3:16) That is, your question is superfluous, so we will not approach it[h]. For we will not ever accept a change <of worship> due to your threats. These are the things we have at once for all decided concerning our souls[i].

105

[1] ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ
[2] ܐܝܟ ܩܠܗ ܕܐܝ ܐܝܟ ܒܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܠܐ
[3] ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬ ܠܡܐܝܟ[j] ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠ
[4] ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܐܠܐ ܠܒܥܠܗ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܐܝܟ ܒܥܠ
[5] ܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ
[6] ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܢ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܟ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܟ
[7] ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ
[8] ܠܡܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐ ܡܠܐ ܒܥܝܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ
[9] ܡܠܐ ܡܐ ܒܥܐ ܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܐ ܡܠܐ ܐܠ
[10] ܐܢܫ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܐ ܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ
[11] ܡܫܬܘܬܦ[k] ܐܢܫ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܠܗ
[12] ܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܒܟ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܐ
[13] ❖ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܐܢܫ
[14] ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܠܡܐ ܒܥܐ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܐ ܐܠܗ ܐ
[15] ܐܫܡܠ ܐ ܒܟ ܒܟ ܐ ܐ ܒܥܐ ܒܟ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[16] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[17] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[18] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[19] ܐ ܐ[l] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[20] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[21] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[22] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[23] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[24] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[25] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[26] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[27] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[28] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

---

[a] Or: economy.
[b] Lit: simply.
[c] Lit: find.
[d] Lit: with.
[e] From the Greek *συμφωνία*.
[f] From the Greek *σῦριγξ*.
[g] See Ishoʿdad, *Commentary on Daniel* 103.9.
[h] Lit: it will not be brought near to us.
[i] Or: ourselves.
[j] Following MS D p. 469 line 26. MS J reads ܐܬܐܡܪ
[k] Following MS D p. 469 line 32. MS J reads ܐܡܪ
[l] Following MS D p. 470 line 16. MS J reads ܐ
[m] Following MS D p. 470 line 17. MS J reads ܐܡܪܬ

106 [1] *'Peṭŝā,'* (Dan 3:21) according to Theodoret, these are coverings
[2] for thighs like the custom of the Persians, that is *'ranīn'* or that which is
[3] <made> from leather with respect to <its> exterior.[a]
[4] *'The flame killed them'* (Dan 3:22) because
[5] these accusers, on account of their joy, swiftly drew near to
[6] the oven to see <Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego> while they burned. And by the action of God
[7] <the accusers> were burned from the heat of the oven. Furthermore, that it might not seem to the King
[8] and to the Babylonians that it was an hallucination and an optical illusion of the eyes which made
[9] the youths not burn in the fire, God made
[10] many <people> around the furnace burn, while <the three youths> were like the king
[11] in his inner chamber.
[12] <The angel> is called *'the Angel of dew'* (Pr Azar 26-27/Dan 3:49) because of its work
[13] in that it shaded and refreshed and cooled them from the conflagration. Just as it was called
[14] *'<angel> of evil'* (Ps 78:49) on account of the work which it did in Egypt.
[15] And one might ask why Daniel was not with these three youths
[16] who were condemned to burn in the oven, though he was a son
[17] of their nation and son of their family and son of their way of life
[18] and what is more a teacher of the fear of God. This was administered
[19] by Providence, <since> by the name of the Babylonian god
[20] <Daniel> was named. It was so that the wicked might not attribute the tempering of the flame <inside the furnace> and its power outside the
[21] furnace to the name of the god of the Babylonian; for this <purpose>
[22] God ordained that Daniel would not be cast into the furnace. And even more so <it was>
[23] to show, <though> naked and without covering,
[24] the strength of the youths who were within the fire, who persevered, not exchanging the love
[25] of God <for another>. Others say <however> that it was from the fear of Daniel
[26] after he explained the dream <of Nebuchadnezzar>.
[27] *'There is not in this time a prophet and a leader,'* (Pr Azar 15/Dan 3:38)
[28] although there was Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Habakkuk, but
[29] they were told to cease working in Jerusalem and Palestine.

106

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܒ

107 [1] *'Bless O souls and spirits of the righteous,'* (Pr Azar 64/Dan 3:86) that is, the spiritual souls
[2] of the righteous who have received the grace of the Spirit.
[3] <This is> the edict which Nebuchadnezzar sent to the nations.
[4] Its beginning, *'Health and peace be multiplied to you,'* (Dan 4:1) and up to <the phrase>
[5] *'I told <my> dream to him,'* (Dan 4:8) he wrote after he returned from the desert,
[6] with <the description of> the dream of the tree being placed in the middle <of the letter>.
[7] *'The height of the tree,'* (Dan 4:11) that is, the intentions
[8] and arrogance of his mind. *'Its leaves,'* his armies; *'its fruit,'* his chiefs;
[9] *'animals and birds,'* (Dan 4:12) nations and kingdoms which were subjected
[10] to him. *'All flesh was nourished from it'* (Dan 4:12) because with his seal
[11] silver and gold were minted which were for the provision
[12] of men. *'A watcher and a holy one,'* (Dan 4:13) one from the spiritual beings. *'Its branches,'*
[13] his dominion. *'The roots of its stump'* etc. because his kingdom
[14] remained until he returned. *'In bonds of iron and bronze, in the grass*
[15] *of the field,'* (Dan 4:15) that is, when <Nebuchadnezzar> was in the desert and was nourished with greens,
[16] <his situation was> like something that is bound by iron and bronze, so
[17] his dominion remained for him.
[18] *'His heart shall depart from men'* (Dan 4:16), that is, his reason was sickened
[19] like one who has a weakness of intelligence and stupification,
[20] so his mind and his thought departed from him. Because of this he could not bear
[21] the way of life which is with men, but he permanently departed
[22] to the desert. *'And the heart of beasts was given to him,'* (Dan 4:16) that is, he loved
[23] the place of beasts and did not fear them. Therefore, his heart became related <to them>
[24] and became like them. *'Seven times shall pass by,'* (Dan 4:16) that is, three
[25] years and six months.
[26] *'The decree is by the command of the watcher,'* (Dan 4:17) that is,
[27] by the decree of a spiritual being is this decree spoken.
[28] *'And by the speech of a holy one is the request,'* (Dan 4:17) that is, regarding the matter of which he spoke,
[29] a holy one returned an answer and the request of his petition was given to him,
[30] so that <Nebuchadnezzar> might learn of the judgment which had gone forth against him concerning how much

107 ܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܡܫܪܐ ܕܐܠܗ

108 time he was to remain in his humiliation and then receive an excellent transformation.
'The lowliest of men he raises over <the kingdom of men>,' (Dan 4:17) since, according to <some> men <Nebuchadnezzar's> wife
led his kingdom during these seven times. Others <though>
say that Evil-Merodoch his son <did>. But because
he led poorly, he was immediately forced to restore
the power to his father after his mind[a] returned. And, at the same time,
so that <Evil-Merodoch> would not rebel against him, for this reason, he cast him into prison.
And there <Evil-Merodoch> was friends with Jeconiah. And after <Evil-Merodoch> became king
he honored him etc. (2 Kgs 25:27; Jer 52:31)
For just as these two righteous men, Daniel and Joseph,
credited God with the interpretation of dreams, so they admonished
and counseled kings with good things. Daniel, on the one hand, said,
'Redeem your sins with alms' etc. (Dan 4:27) And Joseph, on the other, said
'Let Pharaoh look for a wise and intelligent man' etc. (Gen 41:33)
'Is this not Babylon the Great?' etc. (Dan 4:30)
For as <Nebuchadnezzar> was walking upon the walls of his castles[b] and was crossing over
his towers and seeing the greatness and beauty of the city, he spoke
in his pride and his pomp. <And> as he was despising God who declared
the dream, he derisively[c] began to deny the words of the vision,
saying, 'How much do the words of <this> son of the Hebrews cleave to error, who explained
to me by means of a dream that I would be removed from my kingdom and from
my majesty! Even now, as can be seen, I am standing here within my kingdom
and among the power of its majesty!'
'From heaven there came to him a voice,' (Dan 4:31) so that he might learn that the Lord
of all brought forth upon him a judgement. Furthermore, because he was thinking of ascending up to heaven
by means of his pride, so he was expelled from the land. *'To you*
<we> have spoken, Nebuchadnezzar.' (Dan 4:31) <These words> announce the venerable Trinity.[d]
'And he was driven from among men' (Dan 4:33) because he went mad and became senseless
and behaved wildly against everyone and went insane. Furthermore also, on account of the anger which

108 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܐܢ ¹
ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܡܕܥܐ ²
ܘܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ ³
ܘܡܕܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܠܐ ⁴
ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ ⁵
ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ⁶
ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ ⁷
ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܠܬܐ ⁸
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ⁹
ܐܝܬ ¹⁰
ܘܐܝܬ ¹¹
ܠܐ ¹²
ܠܐ ¹³
ܐܝܬ ¹⁴
ܐܝܬ ¹⁵
ܐܝܬ ¹⁶
ܐܝܬ ¹⁷
ܐܝܬ ¹⁸
ܐܝܬ ¹⁹
ܐܝܬ ²⁰
ܐܝܬ ²¹
ܐܝܬ ²²
ܐܝܬ ²³
ܐܝܬ ²⁴
ܐܝ ²⁵
ܐ ²⁶
ܐ ²⁷
ܐ ²⁸
ܐ ²⁹

[a] Or: understanding.
[b] From the Latin *castrum*.
[c] Lit: deriding.
[d] Isho‘dad infers the Trinity from the plural verb form of the word ‘spoken’.
[e] Following MS D p. 471 line 27. MS J reads ܐ

109 everyone had towards him when he was falling into misfortune, they found
an opportunity against him and they banished him. *'They will feed you with grass like an ox…*
and his nails grew' etc. (Dan 4:32-33) Because
his mind and intelligence had become disturbed, he did not have care for his person like rational people, and this
though he had sons and a wife and a family. But
when he was shackled, he fled and went mad in[a] the desert like an animal.
And he used the food of a beast for his stomach. For his hair became long like
<the feathers> of an eagle, which <thus> became a garment for him and <likewise> his fingernails <grew>
so that with them he might dig up roots to eat.
But instead of *'Your kingdom has departed from you'* etc. (Dan 4:31)
the Greek says, *'The kingdom of Babylon will be taken away from you*
and will be given to another. A contemptible man shall be in the house which belongs to you.'
'Seven times.' (Dan 4:32) The Greek says, *'and angels*
shall persecute you for seven years.' And John
Chrysostom says in his Homily on the Fast of the Companions[b] of Daniel,
'The voice from heaven became silent and pursuers were seeking <him>. He abandoned the civilized world
and he went out to the wasteland. He abandoned his vast palace and went out to the empty desert.
He threw down the crown and grew horns. He abandoned bread
and ate grass. He rejected horns and grew fangs. He abandoned
grass and ate flesh. He rejected fangs and grew claws. He abandoned
flesh and ate fowl. He became a bull for two years and four
months. He became a lion for two years and four months. He became
an eagle for two years and four months. And for him seven
years were fulfilled and seven times passed over him. And he lifted up his eyes
to heaven and his mind returned to him. He threw off <his> wings and claws
and became a man in his nature. He opened his mouth and blessed. He lifted up his voice
and gave praise. Suddenly his armies surrounded him
and his nobles beseeched him from all sides. He took his crown and he put on the purple.
And he returned to the civilized world and received his power.'[c] He says even when <Nebuchadnezzar> had been

109

ܡܫܟܚ ܀ ܟܬܒܬ ܠܟ ܐܢ ܀ ܡܗܠ ܐܠܗܝ ܪܚܡ [1]
ܪܝܫ ܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܘܡ ܀ ܡܫܟܚ ܪܝܫ ܡܠܟ [2]
ܪܚܡ ܫܡܝ ܠܟ ܀ ܟܬܝܒ[d] ܐܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܝܚ [3]
ܪܡܐ ܀ ܟܠܝܠ ܟܠ ܡܐ [e]ܕܥܒ ܠܐ ܀ ܡܬܟܒܫ ܡܪܝ [4]
ܠܐ ܀ ܠ ܪܚܡ ܒܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܐܢ [5]
܀ ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܪܝܫܐ ܟܬܒ ܀ ܪܚܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܢ [6]
ܟܝ ܐܢ ܡܝܟ ܀ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܫܪ ܪܝܫ ܟܬܒܐ [7]
܀ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܠ ܪܚܡ ܀ ܪܝܫ ܟܠ [8]
ܠܟ ܀ ܐܫܪ ܪܝܫ ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܐܠ [9]
ܟܠ ܒܝܫ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܐ ܟܠ ܀ ܒ ܟܠ [10]
ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܬ ܐ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܀ ܐ ܟ ܟܬ [11]
܀ ܟܠ ܟܬ ܟܠ ܟ ܀ ܟ ܟ ܟ [12]
ܟ ܟ ܀ ܟ ܟ ܀ ܟ ܟ ܟ [13]
ܟ ܐ ܀ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [14]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [15]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [16]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [17]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [18]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [19]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [20]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [21]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [22]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [23]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [24]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [25]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [26]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [27]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [28]
ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ [29]

[a] Or: removed to.
[b] Or: house.
[c] I have been unable to find the source for this quotation.
[d] Following MS D p. 471 line 29. MS J reads ܟܝ
[e] MS D p. 471 line 30 and MS J both read ܒܟ
[f] Following MS D p. 472 line 2. MS J reads ܟܡܐ

110 any of the <above> animals that he was <still> arrogant and proud and thus <God> lowered him into that which was lower than <an animal> until he was humbled etc. '<*Belshazzar*> *drank as much wine as a thousand* <*men*>.' (Dan 5:1) This is not possible and nature cannot conceive of it. Mar Ephrem says 'According to their law he was reclining by himself before all of them, either sitting at their chief seat drinking before them, or in the presence of they who loudly sang over drink and who were competing over drinking, <and> he <simply> won <the drinking contest> by <his> fortitude at drinking.'[a] That which is put down here is a reproach to kings. The Greek says *'Before a thousand* <*lords*> *there was wine.'* Thus, indicating the abundance of wine and, at the same time, his gluttony etc. *'He said, when tasting the wine,'* (Dan 5:2) that is, when he was drunk and intoxicated from tasting it. *'The Queen said, 'In the days of your father."* (Dan 5:10-11) And Daniel also <said> *'Nebuchadnezzar your father'* (Dan 5:18) when <Nebuchadnezzar> was his grandfather. This is spoken according to the custom of Scripture which names grandsons in the place of sons, like in the example of Laban '<*Their*> *sons are my sons'* etc. (Gen 31:43)[b] But Theodoret says that <Nebuchadnezzar> was his true father and Evil-Merodoch was his brother who was older than him.[c] But this is not accurate[d]. *'The Queen on account of the words of the King.'* (Dan 5:10) It is likely that she was his mother since his wives, along with his concubines, were dining with him as <Scripture> has said. And since she was an old woman, she did not partake in their revelry. *'Mnā, Mnā.'* (Dan 5:26) This was written in the form of a cross.

'Mnā, Mnā, Tqal, Parsīn.' (Dan 5:25)

110 ܡܠ ܒܫܟ ܠܗ ܀ ܐܒܫܟܗ ܪܘܡ ܠܥܒܕ ܀ ܘܐ ܪܒܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܠܟ ¹
ܠܒܝܕ ܒܪܚܬܗ ܟܬܒ ܀ [e]ܐܬܟ ܒܝܕ ²
ܪܐܡ ܪܘܡ ܪܒܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܠܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܐ ³
ܫܪ ܀ ܒܐܒܕ ܐܒ ܪܒܐ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܪܥܝ ܠܐ ⁴
ܕܡܠܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܪܘܡ ܪܒ ܘܡܢܝܢ ܀ ܠ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ⁵
ܐܢ ܪܒܐ ܡܫܬܠܚܒܢ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚܬ ܒܐ ܐܢ ⁶
܀ ܪܒܘܬܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܪܒܘܬ ܡܠܟ ܟܠ ⁷
ܒܪܘܫ ܪܐܡ ܀ ܪܒܐ ܪܒܘܬܗ ܪܒܘܬ ⁸
ܡܫܬܠܚܒܢ ܀ ܪܥܐ ܀ ܪܥܠ ܠ ܪܥܝ ⁹
ܒܫܒܝܐ ܠ ܒܝ ܒ ܀ ܪܒܐ ܪܘܡ ܒܢ ¹⁰
܀ ܪܒܐ ¹¹
ܒܗ ܪܘ ܒ ܀ ܐ ܐܢ ܀ ܪܒܐ ¹²
܀ ¹³
ܒܪ ¹⁴
ܫܪ ܀ ܪܘܡ ¹⁵
ܪܬ ¹⁶
ܐ ¹⁷
܀ ¹⁸
ܪ ¹⁹
ܪܡ ²⁰
ܒ ²¹
ܪ ²²
܀ ²³
ܪ ²⁴
܀ ²⁵
²⁶
[f]ܪܬ ²⁷

[a] This quotation seems to be a very rough paraphrase of pseudo-Ephrem, *Commentary on Daniel* 5.1 (Assemani vol. 5 (syr.2) p. 210 D-E).

[b] Laban is here referring to the sons of his daughters.

[c] Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* 1376.

[d] Lit: suitable.

[e] Following MS D p. 472 line 13. MS J reads ܡܬ

[f] These four words are written in the shape of a cross in the MSS, though not in MS D p. 472 line 30.

111 That is, God has measured[a] the years of the kingdom of the Babylonians according
to that sentence which he issued through Jeremiah (Jer 25:11, 29:10) and they are fulfilled
in your days. *'You have been weighed[b] in the balance'* (Dan 5:27) of the truth of the knowledge of
the creator who examines and judges all things and
your shoulders have been found to lack all justice and virtue. Indeed,
<Scripture> teaches every man that there is no one who is not weighed with justice before God.
It is necessary to know that just as in the above[c] <account> the Babylonians, that is
their nobles, cleverly plotted because of jealousy which they had acquired against
Daniel and his companions—and they instructed Nebuchadnezzar to make a
statue of gold and all who were under his authority were to bow down to it alone
so that by this pretext they might destroy the companions[d]
of Daniel—thus, also here the Medes cleverly plotted by means of
this oath and pact which they made so that they might destroy Daniel. (Dan 6:6)
'Three times a day' etc. (Dan 6:10) And why
when it was prescribed to pray seven times a day,
as David said concerning the people who were in Babylon, (Ps 119:164) did Daniel
bow his knees three times <only>? We say to them that four <times>
he prayed in his house: twice in community, that is at evening
and at morning; and twice alone, when he was not seen by anyone.
But concerning the rest <of the times>, they were at the third <hour>, mid-day, and the ninth <hour>,
during which his enemies saw him praying because he was attending to
<his> duty and then used to pray.
'They threw him into the den of lions' (Dan 6:16) because this was
the sentence of the Medes, just as the Babylonians sentenced by means of fire.
'The King sealed it with his signet ring.' (Dan 6:17) <It was with> *his signet ring* so that
no harm would come to Daniel from
the wickedness of the nobles. And *'by their signet rings,'* (Dan 6:17) so that <Daniel> might bring an end
to the accusation that perhaps something to eat had been thrown to the lions and because of
this <the lions> would not draw near to him.

111

[1] ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[2] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[3] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[4] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[5] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[6] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[7] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[8] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[9] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[10] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[11] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[12] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[13] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[14] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[15] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[16] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[17] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[18] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[19] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[20] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[21] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[22] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[23] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[24] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[25] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ❖ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[26] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[27] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[28] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.
[29] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ.

[a] From the Syriac root *mnā*.
[b] From the Syriac root *tql*.
[c] Lit: there.
[d] Or: house.
[e] Following MS D p. 472 line 32. MS J reads ܒܠܥܐ

112 [1] *'For he cast their women and their children into the den'* (Dan 6:24)
[2] because they also consented to their machinations.
[3] *'The four winds*[a] *of heaven were fomenting the sea,'* (Dan 7:2), that is
[4] the heavenly armies which are held at the four corners of the earth
[5] *'Are these not all spirits? Spirits which <have a> ministry*
[6] *and are sent?'* etc. (Heb 1:14)
[7] For this vision is the same[b] as that first <vision> of the statue
[8] in all respects and such is for <the purposes of> confirmation that he repeats it, as is the custom of the prophets.
[9] '*<The lion> was lifted up from the earth and stood upon its feet like men,'* (Dan 7:4)
[10] that is, <the lion> will be taken away from the earth and all its authority will vanish
[11] from the civilized world and it will walk, <Scripture> says, with difficulty. And so, a weak and timid heart
[12] of a man was given to it, by which it will lose
[13] its former courage.
[14] <Scripture> calls *'The bear'* (Dan 7:5) the Medes, showing that their power would not be as great
[15] as the Babylonians, nor even like the Persians after them,
[16] but they will be more humble and lower than the other two, in as much as a bear
[17] is much lower than a lion since this beast is naturally
[18] quiet and slow and also timid.
[19] *'It was raised up on one side,'* that is, one side of the civilized world; this makes known the inferiority
[20] of its power. Then, *'three ribs were in its mouth.'*
[21] The three powers which it had, that is, the Babylonians and the Medes
[22] and the Persians. *'Devour much flesh,'* because it plundered and devoured
[23] much property which was from these three kingdoms, especially
[24] from the kingdom of the Chaldeans which had gathered wealth from the nations
[25] which was innumerable.
[26] *'And <the leopard> had four heads,'* (Dan 7:6) designating the four corners
[27] of the earth, which the kingdom of the Persians reached.
[28] And *'the four wings'* indicates the doubling of its power
[29] and its swiftness and its flight to all corners, as has been spoken
[30] by Isaiah. (Isa 46:11)

112 ܠܥܠܡ ܕܐܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ¹
ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ²
ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ³
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ⁴
ܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ⁵
ܐܢܐ ⁶
ܐܢܐ ⁷
ܐܢܐ ⁸
ܐܢܐ ⁹
ܐܢܐ ¹⁰
ܐܢܐ ¹¹
ܐܢܐ ¹²
ܐܢܐ ¹³
ܐܢܐ ¹⁴
ܐܢܐ ¹⁵
ܐܢܐ ¹⁶
ܐܢܐ ¹⁷
ܐܢܐ ¹⁸
ܐܢܐ ¹⁹
ܐܢܐ ²⁰
ܐܢܐ ²¹
ܐܢܐ ²²
ܐܢܐ ²³
ܐܢܐ ²⁴
ܐܢܐ ²⁵
ܐܢܐ ²⁶
ܐܢܐ ²⁷
ܐܢܐ ²⁸
ܐܢܐ ²⁹
ܐܢܐ ³⁰

[a] Or: spirits.

[b] Lit: one.

[c] Following MS D p. 474 line 3. MS J reads ܚܫܝ

[d] Following MS D p. 474 line 10. MS J reads ܐܒܗܬܐ

113 *'The teeth,'* (Dan 7:7) the armies of Alexander which trampled the earth
for twelve years and subjugated the civilized world under him.
And he left, as a memorial, great buildings and fortresses.
'The eyes like the eyes of a man,' (Dan 7:8) designating perception
of knowledge and cleverness and subtlety and craftiness
and wickedness, by which he was able to oppress and harm others[a].
For he speaks of Antiochus Epiphanes who was from
the lineage of the Kings of Asia. He was born from Antiochus the Great,
but he calls him *'little'* (Dan 7:8) because
his power was weaker than all of the <others>, but then he became greater than many.
'Thrones were set up.' (Dan 7:9) If <there was> only one <person> to sit, then there would be an excess
of thrones, etc. But <there were many> thrones
in honor of the Ancient of Days and <also> so that he may make the pure
and worthy to be partners in <his> majesty. And you should believe that *'you will also sit upon them'* (Matt 19:28)
etc. *'The ancient of days'* (Dan 7:9) makes known his antiquity,
and his eternity and his role of creator.
In showing how awful and terrible and severe the decree of judgment would be
he says that, *'A river of fire flowed…The books were opened.'* (Dan 7:10) Not that
<God> needs books, but he speaks in a human manner
according to the custom of the Scriptures which speak in a corporeal manner with those who are corporeal,
and <he speaks in this way> to make known the precise examination of the judgments
of God, and <to show> that he judges fairly and with patience.
'And one like a son of man[b] *came and drew near <to the Ancient of Days>.'* (Dan 7:13)
This clearly concerns the Maccabees, but truly it concerns the Messiah
'You will see the son of man coming upon the clouds of heaven.' (Matt 26:64)
'And to him <was given> power' etc. (Dan 7:14) <This pertains> to the words *'all power*
in heaven has been given to me.' (Matt 28:18)
'The saints of the Most High.' (Dan 7:18) In this moment he declares the Maccabees.
But *'to the fourth beast'* (Dan 7:19) there is not given a name <of any animal> like

113 ¹ ܟܬܒ ܫܡܝܐ ܕ[c]ܒܝܬܗܠܡ ܡܫܠܡ ܟܬ
² ܒ ܡܕܡܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ
³ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܫܒܥ ܟܠܒ ܒܝܬ ܦܓܪ
⁴ ܕܒܪܝܫ ܠܟ ܒܪܟ ܟܬ ܫܡ ܟܬ ܒ
⁵ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܒܪܟܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܒܪ ܕܒ
⁶ ܕܒ ܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܫܡ ܕܒ ܒ ܕܒ ܕ
⁷ ܠ ܒ ܕܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܠ ܒ
⁸ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ
⁹ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹⁰ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ
¹¹ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹² ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ
¹³ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ
¹⁴ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹⁵ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹⁶ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹⁷ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹⁸ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
¹⁹ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁰ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²¹ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²² ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²³ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁴ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁵ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁶ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁷ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁸ ❖ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ
²⁹ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ

[a] Or: other <horns>.

[b] Or: like a human.

[c] Following MSS L & D p. 474 line 24. MS J reads ܒ[ܝ]ܬ[ܗ]ܠ[ܡ]

114 these other three because <the fourth beast> was assembled from many nations and races[a].
By *'iron teeth which devour,'* (Dan 7:19) <Scripture> signifies
the money of much capital which <these kings> demand. Furthermore <Scripture> calls the nobles
'teeth' and the armies *'talons,'* (Dan 7:19) for what talons are
to animals, thus armies are to the King.
'Time, times, and half a time' (Dan 7:25), because for three years
and six months Antiochus had power over the nation on account
of their sins. And <Antiochus> became so arrogant and haughty.
that he commanded that they change the times and laws of all
the nations and that they abandon their gods and that all the nations should regard him
to be in the place of God. It was especially against the <Jewish> nation
that he displayed <such> audacity, for he abolished and ended the customs and times
of the feasts and observances of the law and ten thousand[b] evils
he imposed upon the Jews.
'Upon the portico of the Ulai' (Dan 8:2), that is, before the portico and the gate,
where the Ulai River flowed. That is, the gate which comes out
opposite the Ulai River. Portico is 'dahlíz' <in Persian>.
'A ram,' (Dan 8:3) which declares Darius[c] since he was rich in
wealth and possessions etc. Theodoret says, *'a ram'*
is the kingdom <of the Persians>.[d] *'The two horns'* (Dan 8:3) are two lineages which reigned
over the kingdom. Cyrus, he says, reigned first until his son
Cambyses inherited the kingdom. After Cambyses
a Magus seized the kingdom for eleven months and after him Darius,[e]
who left his kingdom to <his> grandsons and <his> great-grandsons
until this Darius[f] who is named a ram
whom Alexander killed. *'One of the horns was longer'* (Dan 8:3)
since this lineage of Darius was far stronger than
that of Cyrus. Or, of the two kingdoms of the Medes and the Persians which he possessed,
that of Persia was far stronger.

114

[1] ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ
[2] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ
[3] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ
[4] ܕܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ
[5] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ
[6] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[7] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[8] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[9] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[10] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[11] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[12] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[13] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[14] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[15] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[16] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[17] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[18] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[19] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[20] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[21] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[22] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[23] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[24] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[25] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[26] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[27] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[28] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ
[29] ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ

---

[a] Lit: divisions.

[b] Lit: a thousand thousand.

[c] Darius III.

[d] Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* 1440.

[e] Darius I.

[f] Darius III.

[g] MS D p. 475 line 10 reads ܒܝܬܗ, but I follow van den Eynde's emendation of ܠܡܗ in my translation.

[h] Following MS D p. 475 line 13. MS J reads ܫܒܝܥܐ

[i] Following MS D p. 475 line 15. MS J reads ܪܒܥܐ

[j] Following MS D p. 475 line 16. MS J reads ܫܒܝܥܐܝܬ

[k] Following MS D p. 475 line 18, which is not listed in van den Eynde. MS J reads ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ

115 *'A goat,'* (Dan 8:5) <which is> Alexander. *'He did not harm,'* (Dan 8:7)
this is set down in accordance with the desire of <Alexander>. For this was in his goal, to rush
straight at Darius and not care to harm <him>, thus
even the two servants of Darius who killed <Darius>, after <Alexander> was made King,
<Alexander> sought them and they killed them. Yet it was not possible
that the troop which was with <Alexander> could not have caused <any> harm. Indeed,
in the above, <Scripture> has spoken <already> concerning <Alexander> *'he devours and grinds'* etc. (Dan 7:23)
'And a long horn was between his eyes,' (Dan 8:5), which makes known the greatness of his power.
'Between his eyes,' symbolizes the brazen confidence
of his great victory, or the reason and skill and intelligence
of his thoughts.
'He broke the two horns,' (Dan 8:7) that is, the two powers
which Darius possessed because that kingdom had subjected these two
races, concerning which the Medes and Persians
are named together. Furthermore, since Cyrus, who reigned
first was Median on <his> mother's <side>, but Persian
on <his> father's and because their first king
was known as a Persian and a Mede, <thus> it was necessary that also the people who were under
his power would be named likewise since
these two powers came together in one kingdom.
'His great horn was broken,' (Dan 8:8) because after twelve
years Alexander died and did not bequeath his kingdom to his son
nor to anyone from his family since he did not have a child.[a]
'And four long <horns> came up,' (Dan 8:8) his four servants who reigned after him.
'A little horn,' (Dan 8:9) Antiochus Epiphanes the son of Antiochus the Great
who reigned over Asia. He is called *'a little horn'* either
because he had less power than the others at first,
or since he arose from a small tribe.
'The armies of heaven and the stars and the captains of the armies.' (Dan 8:10)

115

[a] Alexander did have at least one son, but he was murdered while a child. See Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 19.105.

[b] Following MSS L & D p. 475 line 20. MS J reads ܗܘܐ

[c] Following MS D p. 475 line 25. MS J reads ܐܝܟ

[d] Following MS D p. 476 line 4. MS J reads ܐܢ

[e] Following MS D p. 476 line 9. MS J adds ܐܚܪܢ

116 <Scripture> declares Onias[a] and Eliezer and those of the house of the Maccabees. (2 Macc 4:30-35, 6:18-31)
<Scripture> calls them *'stars'* because of the glory and the beauty of the fear
of God which is indicated as follows, *'I shall make your seed as*
the stars of heaven.' (Gen 22:17)
'And by him the perpetuity <of sacrifice> was removed,' (Dan 8:11) that is, by him who is the horn,
who is Antiochus, power was given so that the perpetuity <of sacrifice> might be removed and taken away
from its place. That is, sacrifices and offerings, such as which were appointed
from the days of Moses and had continued perpetually. Or <this is written> because in the evening
and the morning <the Jews> would bring sacrifices and by the means of this wrong doer
they were abolished. *'The establishment of his sanctuary <was cast down>,'* (Dan 8:11) that is, the construction and the ornamentation of the house
of the Lord was destroyed and scattered and disturbed.
'Power was given' etc. (Dan 8:12) That is, on account of the iniquities
and sins of the Jews, power and authority was given
to Antiochus to fill his desire against the perpetuity of sacrifices
and the bread of the presence which was perpetually placed before God.
'Holiness was cast down' etc. (Dan 8:12) For when he came to Jerusalem
he massacred forty thousand and deported forty thousand <others> and he defiled
women. He entered the Temple and threw down the menorah and trampled the table of the bread
of the presence and all of the vessels of the sanctuary. And he built an altar within
the Temple <dedicated> to Zeus and he named it *'The Temple of Zeus.'* And he slaughtered a pig
within it. And he entered the treasury and removed from there one thousand
eight hundred talents of gold and the vessels of worship.
And when he departed, he left behind him corrupt men who disturbed
the proper customs and laws. (1 Macc 1:21-24; 2 Macc 5:11-23)
'Such a one[b]*,'* (Dan 8:13) <that is one who is> thoroughly initiated[c]. This name is given to him due to
<his> actions and due to the place in which he stood <because this one> was initiated
and near to the Judge and he ascertained mysteries and also events[d]
which were destined to be. For this is a Hebrew term.
Until two thousand three hundred evenings <and> mornings
and justice shall overcome.' (Dan 8:14) That is, until this number of evenings and mornings is fulfilled.
That is, count two thousand three hundred night times and day times,

116

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܪܫܝܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܟ[a]
ܘܟܠ ܐܚܝܗ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ ܘܩܝܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀
ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝ ܫܠܝܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ ܕܒܝ ܪܒ ܀ ܐܡܪ
ܠܡܫܕܝ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܘܐܬܪ ܀
ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܫܒܩ
ܠܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܠܟ ܫܠ ܫܡܥܘܢ. ܘܡܚܠ
ܟܠ ܚܛܗ ܠܟ ܫܒ ܠܗ ܀ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܟ. ܐܡ ܚܛܝܬ ܠܟ
ܟܬܝܒ ܠܟ ܐܢ ܫܒ ܀ ܘܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܟ ܐܡ ܚܛܝܬ ܠܟ
ܠܐ ܫܒ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܟ ܐܡ ܚܛܝܬ ܠܟ
ܘ

117 and then justice shall overcome and these evils shall be completed.
Two thousand night times and day times make one thousand days and
three hundred <make> one hundred fifty <days>. That is, after these days
God will have pity upon the Jews etc. They shall be tried[a]
by fire etc. '*One thousand days,*'[b] that is, in this period
they shall be tested by evils etc.
'Gabriel, make <him> understand this <vision>.' (Dan 8:16) Up until now <Scripture> has not
made mention of Gabriel to us, perhaps because <in Daniel's time> a revelation of the Messiah
was near, of which <Gabriel> was to be a messenger (Luke 1:26)
and <so that> when the New <Covenant> would be spoken of, the Jews should not refute it
on account of the fact that this name, *'Gabriel,'* was a fiction and an invention.
'The time of the end,' (Dan 8:17) that is, the consummation.
'When the iniquities are finished,' (Dan 8:23) that is, when the iniquities of the nation
have been fulfilled.
'Not by his own power,' (Dan 8:24) that is, it was not Antiochus that was
the cause of his <own> success, but <rather it was> the sins of the people.
'And he will destroy the marvelous things.' (Dan 8:24) That is, the divine ordinance which is wonderful
and worthy of admiration.
'And in peace he shall destroy.' (Dan 8:25) <Scripture> stipulates *'peace'* for the deceptive peace
he demonstrated after he laid waste to Egypt. Indeed <he said> 'I have to fulfill a vow
in the temple for my victory over Egypt.' And then he went
and he plundered without pity. *'The Ruler of rulers,'* (Dan 8:25) <that is> God.
'By the seizing of a hand he shall be broken,' (Dan 8:25) that is, <he will do so> easily,[c]
like someone seizing something in his hand and releasing it.
He ordered him to *'conceal this vision'* (Dan 8:26) so that
the nations would not fear and be dismayed and not go up to Jerusalem.
'The vision of evenings and mornings is faithful,' (Dan 8:26) that is, the number
regarding these two times which was spoken to you is faithful and there is no
addition or subtraction to it.

117

ܕܡܬܬ ܠܗ ܟܠܝܬܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܝ ܟܐ ܕ[d]ܐܬܟܠܝ ܀
ܒܬܪܟ ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܕܟܬܒܝܢ ܕܡܫܠܗ ܩܠܡ ܩܕ ܀
܀ ܕܡܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܕܐ ܕܥܒܝܕ ܕܟܐ ܕܐܬܟܠܝ
ܠܥܠܡ ܕܟܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܕܗ ܟܝܬ ܒܝܬ
ܟܬܒ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܟܠ ܟܬܒ ܕܟܝܢ ܕܐ
ܟ ܕܟܝܢ ܕܐ ܕܟ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟ
ܕ ܕ ܕ

118 [1] *'I, Daniel, understood in the book*[a] *the number*
[2] *of years'* etc. (Dan 9:2) That is, when the duration <of the captivity>
[2] would be fulfilled, <Daniel> began to pray
[3] for the return <to Jerusalem> because before now he had not dared to
[3] pray <for this> lest
[4] he vainly toil[b] and <also> so that he would obey <what was said> by
[4] Jeremiah, *'Do not pray*
[5] *for this people and do not inquire <on their behalf> because I shall not listen*
[6] *to you.'* (Jer 7:16) But after he saw that the judgement was completed,
[6] then he prayed
[7] with fasting and sackcloth and ashes (Dan 9:3). Furthermore, <he had
[7] refrained from praying> because he thought that perhaps <the Jews>
[8] would remain in captivity for a very long time on account of their sins,
[8] just as <God> added
[9] thirty years to the sons of Israel in Egypt. (Gen 15:13, Exod 12:40). And
[9] just as <God>
[10] subtracted twenty years from the generation of Noah (Gen 5:32, 6:3, 7:6)
[10] and fifty years from the house Ephraim (Isa 7:8).
[11] Thus, it is not at the beginning of their follies that sinners appeal to the Judge,
[12] rather it is after the punishment etc.
[13] *'<As I was confessing> my iniquities and the iniquities of my people Israel,'*
[13] (Dan 9:20) according to the custom
[14] of the Saints who reckon themselves with the follies of others.
[15] *'Seventy weeks remain,'* (Dan 9:24) that is, until
[16] the destruction by the Romans. Indeed, though they shall be tormented
[16] from time
[17] to time in the interim, they however shall not be completely abandoned.
[17] Seventy
[18] weeks are four hundred ninety years.
[19] Now these <years> are computed from when they returned from
[19] Babylon and began to construct the Temple
[20] up until the Romans provoked them after the ascension
[21] of our Lord. And because Daniel asked God in prayer
[22] to make known to him when the people would return and Jerusalem
[22] would be built
[23] <and> how much time would remain for them, Gabriel said
[24] that there were only seventy weeks remaining for them, of which
[25] seven <weeks> of these minus three years would occur for the building
[26] of the Temple. Just as the Jews said to our Lord,
[27] *'In forty-six years this Temple was built.'* (John 2:20).[c] And then
[27] <Scripture> says *'sixty-two*
[28] *weeks.'* (Dan 9:25) These are reckoned from when the city and the Temple
[28] with it
[29] were completed up until the crucifixion of our Lord.

118 ܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠ̈ܗܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܥܒ̈ܘܢ ¹
ܘܠܐ ܬܬܝܓܥ̈ܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܗ̇ܕܐ ܕ[d]ܐܡ ܐ̇ܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬ ²
ܐ̇ܢ ܐ̇ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ܐ̇ܢ ܐ̇ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ³
ܐ̇ܢ ܐ̇ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ܐ̇ܢ ܐ̇ܡ ܒܝܬ ⁴
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ܐ̇ܢ ܐ̇ܡ ܒܝܬ ⁵
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ⁶ ܗ[e] ⁷
ܒ̈ܝܬ ⁸
ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ⁹
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ¹⁰
ܗ ¹¹
ܐ̇ܢ ¹²
ܐ̇ܢ ¹³
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ¹⁴
ܗ ¹⁵
ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ¹⁶
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ¹⁷
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ¹⁸
ܐ̇ ¹⁹
ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ²⁰
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ²¹
ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ²²
ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ²³
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ²⁴
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ²⁵
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ²⁶
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ²⁷
ܡ̈ܠܟ̈ܐ ²⁸
ܐ̇ ²⁹

[a] This refers to the book of Jeremiah.

[b] Or: vainly tire out <God>.

[c] The Syriac may also be understood as saying 'For forty-six years this Temple has been being built,' but Isho'dad's argument seems to understand the Temple as having been completed by the time these words were spoken. See Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentary on Daniel* 119.4-5.

[d] Following MS D p. 477 line 17. MS J omits ܐ̇ܡ

[e] Following MS D p. 475 line 21. MS J reads ܕ

119 And afterwards <Scripture> says, *'one week and half a week.'* (Dan 9:27) When <Scripture> said *'half a week'* it was not to add excess to the seventy weeks, but to subtract those three extra years which are in the seven weeks, which exceed the forty-six <years> during which they built the city and the Temple.[a] And these <three extra years> are added to[b] the week which remained from the seven and sixty-two, which <added together> are sixty-nine. This then is a week and three years of the longsuffering <of God>, which <he had> towards the <Jews> after the crucifixion up until the Romans attacked them over the pretext of the statue of Caesar,[c] or according to Ephrem,[d] the eagle which Pilate brought into the Temple.[e] *'And for the Messiah, the Holy of Holies,'* (Dan 9:24) that is, in the Messiah—who is the Temple and the Holy of Holies or the sanctifier of the holy ones—there shall be fulfilled all that <was spoken> by the prophets. The Greek <text says> *'and to anoint the Holy One of the holy ones.'* When it says *'the Holy One'* <it means> the Messiah himself, that is, the one who is holier than all the holy ones and who consecrates and sanctifies all who are worthy of sanctity. *'You will know and understand from the going forth of the sentence,'* (Dan 9:25) that is, from these <events>, which are near and present in your days, they shall be seen. You also will understand that those <events> which are far off—that is to say, those which concern[f] Christ—are true and do not lie, but will be fulfilled in due course[g]. And what are these <events> which are now brought forward? To return and to build Jerusalem, that is, these <events>, he says, of returning and building Jerusalem will begin in your days.[h] *'For the coming of the Messiah the King'* and *'He shall return and shall build Jerusalem with its streets and plazas.'* (Dan 9:25) Before <these phrases> it is proper for the *'seven weeks'* to be placed. For the order of the sentences is this: *'To return and to build <Jerusalem> seven weeks'* and after *'seven weeks'* <should be placed> *'he shall return and build Jerusalem <with its> streets'* etc. And then *'For the coming of the Messiah, the King, sixty-two weeks'*[i]

---

[a] Ishoʿdad seems to be stating that the 46 years mentioned in the Gospel of John are 3 years short of 49 years (or 7 weeks) and so, he argues that these extra years are the half week mentioned in

119

Daniel's prophecy. Therefore, for Isho'dad, 68.5 weeks of Daniel's 70-week prophecy were already fulfilled by the time of Jesus' ministry, leaving 1.5 weeks (about 10 years) remaining in the prophecy.

[b] Lit: computed; subtracted from.

[c] This was the statue that Emperor Caligula ordered to be placed in the Jewish Temple around 39 or 40 CE. The order, however, had not been carried out before Caligula rescinded it, see Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.261-301; Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 19 (184-188).

[d] Pseudo-Ephrem, *Commentary on Daniel* 9.27 (Assemani vol. 5 (syr.2) p. 222D-E). Ephrem says much the same thing in his *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 18.12, see Botha, "The Relevance of the Book of Daniel," 118 n74.

[e] This event took place during the governorship of Pontius Pilate (26-36 CE). See Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.55-59; *Jewish War* 2.169-174; Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 38 (299).

[f] Lit: of. [g] Lit: in deed. [h] This refers to the days of Daniel.

[i] Isho'dad recommends changing the order of the text as it is given in the Peshitta at Dan 9:25.

[j] Following Peshitta. MS D and MS J read ܫܒܥ

[k] Following MS D p. 478 line 30. MS J reads ܫܒܘܥ

120 [1] *'And after sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be killed*
[2] *and there will not be salvation for Jerusalem.'* (Dan 9:26) Ephrem <says>
[3] 'And there will no other Messiah for <Jerusalem>[a].'[b] The Greek
<says> *'The anointing shall perish*
[4] *and there shall not be justice in <Jerusalem>*[c]*.'* That is, the splendor will
perish which was vainly upon
[5] the priests because they who
[6] were appointed lawlessly are named as priests, <so> it is fitting
[7] that there shall not be justice in <Jerusalem>[d]. That is, though they shall
be anointed, yet they shall not be <anointed> rightly,
[8] but rather they will dare lawlessly to do this action. Furthermore, if
[9] the anointing is abolished, then no anointed ones shall be anointed.
[10] So the interpretation of the Greek and the Syriac is the same. *'And the holy
town*
[11] *shall be destroyed with the King who is to come.'*
[12] Theodoret explains that <the King who is to come> is a strange kingdom
and a doctrine which is lawless.[e]
[13] Others say *'with the King who is to come'* <means> *'with the Messiah who
is to come.'*
[14] In place of *'The Messiah shall be killed'* the Jews contrive *'The oil shall be
cut off.'*
[15] Yet, when the oil ceases and no longer flows, the oil of the anointing is
abolished and does not continue
[16] since there will be no one, neither kings nor priests, to anoint with it
according
[17] to the custom which was from Moses onward, <thus> would it not be
necessary also for the Law to end
[18] in that without a priesthood and an anointing of all the things which were
[19] to be anointed in the Law, even the Law also is not able
[20] to continue? Furthermore, as for that Messiah of yours <O Jews>, who
is to come,
[21] with what will he be anointed when there is no oil of anointing?
[22] And its[f] end <will come> in an inundation and in slaughter just as in the
deluge
[23] in the generations of Noah. *'Even until the consummation of the decree*
[24] *it shall cease.*[g]*'* (Dan 9:27) That is, until the end of the world.
[25] And <Scripture> says what he who comes, the Messiah himself, shall
do: he shall make firm
[26] his covenant with many, as the prophet Jeremiah spoke.[h]
[27] *'And upon the wings of the abomination <comes> destruction.'* He calls *'the
abomination'* the statue

120 ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܢܒܝܐ[i] ܕܐܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ̈ܝܗ̇ ܕܐܝܠܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܘܪ ܟܠܕܝܐ ܐ
ܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒ
ܓ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܓ
ܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܫܘܠ ܐܘ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܐܫܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܕ
ܗ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܗ
ܘ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘ
ܙ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܙ
ܚ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܚ
ܛ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܛ
ܝ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܝ
ܟ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܟ
ܟ̣ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܟ̣
ܠ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܠ
ܡ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܡ
ܢ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܢ
ܣ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܣ
ܥ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܥ
ܦ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܦ
ܨ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܨ
ܩ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܩ
ܪ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܪ
ܫ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܫ
ܬ ܒܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܬ

[a] Lit: her.

[b] Pseudo-Ephrem, *Commentary on Daniel* 9.26 (Assemani vol. 5 (syr.2) p. 222B). MS D p. 478 line 31 attributes this quotation to Henana.

[c] Lit: her.

[d] Lit: her.

[e] Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* 1481.

[f] Or: his.

[g] Or: rest. See Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentary on Daniel* 121.6.

[h] Perhaps referring to Jer 31:31.

[i] Following Peshitta. MS D and MS J read ܕܐܬܐ

[j] Following MS D p. 478 line 34. MS J reads ܐܝܬ ܒܗ

[k] Following Peshitta. MS D and MS J read ܡܠܟܘܬܐ

[l] In my translation I adopt the reading of MS G: ܡܠܟܘ

[m] Following MS D p. 479 lines 6-7. MS J omits ܕܫܢ̈ܬ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕ

[n] Following MS D p. 479 line 7. MS J reads ܒܗ

121 of the eagle which Pilate brought into the Temple,[a] so that the filthy and abominable head
of the idol might be worshipped instead of God. *'Upon its wings'* since
abomination is linked with desolation in as much as ruin follows in its footsteps
and as wings are connected to the bird to which they belong,
thus also the desolation <is linked> with that abominable sign.
'It shall cease[b]*'* is like *'the land shall observe the Sabbath from all the days of its solitude.'* (Lev 26:34)
'In the third year of Cyrus the Persian.' (Dan 10:1) It is clear that
Daniel lived to the third year <of Cyrus> and beyond even though in the beginning of the book
it is written *'Up until the first year of Cyrus.'* (Dan 1:21)
'Three weeks of days,' (Dan 10:2) he says <*'of days'*> because there exist
weeks of years like that <given> above, *'seventy weeks remain'* (Dan 9:24) etc. And on account of this he put down *'of days.'*
'Desirable food,' (Dan 10:3) that is, what human nature desires.
'And he sat in mourning,' (Dan 10:2) because when he saw the command of the King
who mercifully commanded the return <to Jerusalem>, he however <also> saw the disobedience
of the people who did not want to return since they were ensnared by houses
and by possessions and by the wickedness which was there and <therefore> they did not want
to return according to the divine promise. <And so Daniel> *'sat in mourning for three weeks.'* (Dan 10:2)
(Dan 10:4) And it is clear that on the fourteenth <day of the month> he did not celebrate the Passover
while in mourning because he obeyed the Law which commanded
that outside of Jerusalem these three feasts should not be conducted (Deut 16:16).[c]
Therefore, the Jews of today stand against God
at festivals which they celebrate outside of Jerusalem.
'His appearance was transformed and there was no form to it,' (Dan 10:6) that is, his appearance
was full of fear due to the metamorphosis when he was transformed into all <kinds of> forms.
<Some> read *'he was transformed,'* <but> the Greek says *'And his whole body was like Chrysolite.'*

121 ܕܢܬܐ[d] ܕܟܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܀ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܠܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܢܬ
ܗܘ ܀ ܫܩܝܩ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܕܡܠܟ ܟܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ
ܟܕ ܫܒܩܢܐ ܐܦ ܀ ܕܐܝܟ ܠܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܟܝ
ܫܒܬ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܫܩܝܠ ܩܕܝܫ ܕܐܬܐ ܀ ܠܟܠ
ܕܟܠܐ ܐܦ ܕܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܕܐܡ ܀ ܠܥܠܡܐ
ܕܟܬܒ ܥܠܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܒܬܒ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܀ ܫܘܒܥܐ ܐܦ
܀ ܥܠܡܐ
ܟܬܒ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܕܫܐܠ ܒܝܕ ܒܠܐ ܒܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܫܒ ܒܟ ܀ ܠܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܢܐ ܒܬܒ ܒܠܐ ܒܬܒ
܀ ܒܝܕ ܐܢܐ ܒܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ
ܒܬܒ ܠܗ ܀ ܒܝܕ[e] ܟܬܒ ܡܟܬܒ ܟܠܐ
ܡܟܬܒ ܡܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ
ܐܦ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܐܡ ܠܗ ܀ ܟܒܝܢ ܟܬܒ
ܒܬ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܀ ܕܐ ܟܬ ܟܬܒ
ܟܠܗ ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܐܦ ܀ ܟܠ ܐܡ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܫܒܩ ܠܟ ܀ ܟܠ ܟܬ ܟܬܒ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܗܘ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܀ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܟܬ ܀ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܟܬ ܀ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܟܬ ܀ ❖ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܟܬ ܀

122 [1] *'Again the vision <refers> to the end of days,'* (Dan 10:14) that is, 'this vision
[2] which I now show you is for the consummation of days' indicating
[3] the time of the Maccabees.
[4] *'The book of truth,'* (Dan 10:21), he names the <words> which Moses wrote
[5] in the book of Numbers. And it was spoken by Balaam the soothsayer
[6] *'Legions,'* that is troops *'shall come from the land of the Greeks'* etc.
[7] *'and indeed, after they do these things in Assyria and*
[8] *among the Hebrews they shall perish.'* (Num 24:24)
[9] *'There is no one who helps me except for Michael*
[10] *your Prince.'* (Dan 10:21) That is to say, from among all those of spiritual nature
[11] only <Gabriel> and Michael rejoiced in the salvation of the people,
[12] but the rest <of the spiritual beings>, on account of the wickedness and the iniquities of the people,
[13] preferred that they would continue to endure slavery. Moreover,
[14] the two angels of the Persians and the Greeks made war against
[15] Gabriel, not on account of the wicked desire of the spirits—for
[16] they are not able to oppose the will of God—
[17] but the Creator himself roused them to war so that through those
[18] who urged on the return <to Jerusalem>, the grace of God might be manifested
[19] towards the people, and that through those who were grieved over the wickedness of the people,
[20] <it might be manifested that> they were not worthy of redemption and goodness. But Michael urged
[21] the return <of the people> since he was a shepherd of the people and so that
[22] great labor which he wrought in his duties[a] from the beginning up until
[23] then might not be in vain. And Gabriel also rejoiced
[24] in the return <of the people>. For the time for him to carry out the full salvation
[25] was coming near, which he would administer. (Luke 1:26-38) And he was desirous that the people
[26] would go back and fulfill the supreme decree and that our Lord would appear in Judah,
[27] in Bethlehem, according to the promise. But the ruler of the Persians
[28] was desiring the delay of the people in slavery, that is to say,
[29] because of the virtues and righteous deeds which were among the people <he desired that> a memorial of God
[30] might be preserved constantly among the pagan and idolatrous nations.

122 ¹ ܗܘ ܗܘܝ ܕܡ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ
² ܠܟ ܟܝ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܠܗܝ ܗܘ ܫܟܝܢ
³ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܕ
⁴ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܠܫܠܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ
⁵ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܒܡܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ
⁶ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܒܡܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ
⁷ ܒܟܬܒ ܠܫ ܒܡܐ ܕܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ
⁸ ܒܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ
⁹ ܠܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܠ ܗܘ ܒܟܬܒ ܫܠ ܐ
¹⁰ ܕܐ ܟܫܘܐ ܟܬܒ ܐܫܠ ܟܡ ܫܟܬ ܐܫܟܠ
¹¹ ܟܬܒ ܫܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܫܡܝ ܠܟܬܒ ܒܫ
¹² ܟܬܒ ܫܟܬܐ ܫܟܬ ܠܟ ܒ ܟܝ
¹³ ܟܝ ܟܝ ܒ ܟܬܒ ܒܟ ܒܫ ܗܘ ܫܡ
¹⁴ ܟ ܟܒܝ ܟܬ ܐܫܟ [b]ܟܠ ܒܟ
¹⁵ ܠ ܫܟ ܟܬ ܫܟ ܠ ܠ ܠܟ
¹⁶ ܐ ܐܫܟ ܫܟ ܫܟ ܠ ܫ
¹⁷ ܫ ܒ ܐ ܐ ܟ ܟ ܟ
¹⁸ ܟ ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܠ
¹⁹ ܟ ܫ ܟ ܫ ܫ ܫ
²⁰ ܠ ܫ ܠ ܟ ܫ ܟ
²¹ ܟ ܟ ܫ ܫ ܟ
²² ܟ ܟ ܫ ܫ ܟ
²³ ܟ ܫ ܠ ܟ ܠ
²⁴ ܫ ܫ ܠ ܠ ܠ
²⁵ ܟ ܫ ܫ ܫ ܫ
²⁶ ܐ ܟ ܫ ܫ ܟ
²⁷ ܫ ܠ ܟ ܟ
²⁸ ܫ ܟ ܟ ܫ
²⁹ ܟ ܐ ܫ ܟ
³⁰ ܟ ܫ ܟ ܫ ܟ

[a] Lit: administration.

[b] In my translation I adopt the reading of MS L f. 271v ܟܟ

123 So too the Prince of the Greeks, who in the future would inflict
misfortunes on the people on account of their evils in the time of the Maccabees. Likewise,
the two angels fought on behalf of the divine Law,
one seeing the kindness of God who commanded
the return even though <the Jews> had not repented and were not worthy, but the other <angel>,
seeing the justice of <God>, said 'It is not necessary that they return who loved
the country of the barbarians and emulated their wickedness' etc.
Just as also the law commands that the slave who does not want to be freed
in the seventh year should have his ear pierced and be a slave
forever (Exod 21:5-6). Therefore, the one <angel> who hated evils, manifested
justice. But the other <angel> said that it was right for the kindness
of God to prevail even if <the Jews> were not worthy and did not desire it.[a]
Therefore, kindness overcomes and abrogates justice
etc. And also <this occurred> so that—when the people, though they were not worthy, heard that they would be freed
on account of the promises of God and of the petition of a righteous man—they would become
holy and virtuous and desire to return etc.
(Dan 11:1) And afterwards Gabriel explains all of that which was spoken
above: the dream of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar and the things which
Daniel himself saw, and what would be visited upon the people by the descendants of those
four chiefs who arose after Alexander.
(Dan 11:2) *'Three Kings <more> shall arise in Persia,'* from Cyrus,
who reigned first, up until these three <kings> there were many kings
among the Persians, but he speaks of the three of them
who were called by the name of Darius. For three of them were named
with the same name of Darius. And knowing by whom he would abolish the kingdom
of the Persians, <the angel> says *'And the fourth shall become enriched with great wealth.'* That is,
the Darius[b] who became mightier than all the kings before him.
'And when,' he says this Darius becomes mighty over his country in power
and *'in wealth, he shall stir up,'* that is, he roused Alexander from among
the Greeks to come against him.

123 ܗܠܟܡܠ ܪܥܡ ܢܒܛܐ ܠܛ ܀ ܪܥܝܐ ܕܥܕ ܡܠܥ
ܕܥܕ ܪܟܩܟ ܟܝܕ ܀ ܡܒܥܪܝ ܠܠܟ ܪܟܡܠ ܪܒܝܩ
ܦܥܒܛܒܛ ܪܡܠܪ ܪܡܥܟܐ ܟܠ ܪܟܪܟ ܥܡܝܛ
ܪܥܡܐ ܢܒܛܐ ܪܡܠܪ ܡܒܛܡܠ ܐܟܐ ܪܛ ܟܝ ܥܡܥ .ܥܥܡ
ܐܟܐ ܪܛ ܢܝ ܪܡ .ܦܥܪ ܡܠܥ ܥܕܒ ܡܪ ܀ ܪܥܥܐ
،ܡܥܟܡܐ ܥܡܒ ܥܠܟܐ ܕܢ ܠܪ ܡܠܥ ܀ ܡܒܛܡܠ
܀ ܪܟܝܐܐ ܥܡܥܥܝܛ ܒܝܛܒ ܪܟܛܝܛ ܪܝܛܡ
ܐܝܛܒ ܪܟܝ ܡܠܥ ܪܟܛܟ ܛܒ ܪܟܛ ܟܒܛ ܡܪܐ
ܪܟܛ ܪܥܡ ܫܪܪ ܛܥܝܒ ܀ ܪܒܛܟܛ ܪܒܛ
ܪܥܡ ܪܒܛ ܟܝ ܪܛ ܟܝ .ܟܠܡ ܀ ܪܒܛܟ ܕܢ ܪܟܛ
ܪܒܛܟܡ ܥܡܒ ܟܝ ܪܛ ܀ ܪܟܛ ܕܢ ܪܟܡ
ܪܟܛ ܪܒܛ ܟܝ ܪܛ ܀ ܪܟܛ ܕܢ ܪܟܡ
ܪܒܛ ܪܥܡ ܀ ܪܟܝ ܫܒܛ ܪܟܛ ܛܒ ܪܟܛ ܟܒܛ ܪܡ
ܪܟ

124 And Alexander, he says *'shall arise'* (Dan 11:3) and shall kill Darius <and> *'he shall do*
according to his will,' with no man rising against him. This
Darius was the son of Arses,[a] the tenth <king> from Cyrus and in his sixth year
Alexander came against him and killed him. And
when Alexander came to Jerusalem, he entered the Temple and
worshiped God and honored the Temple
with many gifts.
'<His kingdom> shall be scattered to the four winds of heaven' (Dan 11:4). <Scripture> speaks
of his four honored servants who from his youth grew up with him. (1 Macc 1:6)
The first of them, of the name of Seleucus,[b] reigned in Babylon. And he
built Seleucia and Ctesiphon and called them by his name.
Afterwards Ardashir, who is called Ardashir the New,[c] named them after himself,
Ardashir. The second <servant> was Ptolemy,[d] <who reigned> over Egypt. The third
was Antiochus the Great[e] <who reigned> over Asia. The fourth was
another Seleucus <who reigned> in Antioch of Syria.[f] Of these, some were strong
and some weak, like iron and clay (Dan 2:42).
'Not according to his border nor according to his power,' that is, not according
to the measure of his greatness and majesty and the fierceness of his power,
<for> in this way his power remained and continued. *'There will not be others after*
them.' That is, after his death no one did anything great again.
The genealogy of the kings of Asia: the first of them, Antiochus.[g]
and after him Seleucus the Great[h] in the days of Onias the High
Priest.[i] And then Antiochus Epiphanes[j] son of Antiochus
the Great.[k] And after him, Antiochus Eupater, his son.[l] And after him
Alexander the Little,[m] another son of Antiochus
Epiphanes. And after him, Antiochus the Child,[n] son of
Alexander. Now as for this Antiochus the Child, a certain man
of the name Trypho, his relative, raised him and made him King. And afterwards this Trypho
rebelled against him and killed him and made himself king after him. The genealogy
of the kings of Antioch of Syria: The first, Seleucus
Nicator. And after him, Demetrius his son.[o] And after him, Antiochus

124

[1] ܕܒܒܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ ܒܝ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ

125 his son.[a] It was he who marched against Trypho with an army of Greeks[b]
and conquered Trypho. And the genealogy of the kings of Egypt:
Most of them were named with the name of Ptolemy.
And the genealogy of those who reigned in Babylon: <Their lineage remained> a short time
and then ceased.
And the first to begin warfare was Antiochus of Asia and he even took the
kingdom of Antioch from Seleucus Nicator.
After him arose Antiochus Epiphanes, in the year one hundred
thirty-seven of the Greeks. And he possessed those two principalities
which had been taken by his predecessor. And he added even more
and even seized by war the principality of Ptolemy of Egypt.[c]
And when he was returning from Egypt, he entered Jerusalem by guile
and imposed many evils upon the Jews. And after him, Antiochus Eupater, his son,[d] inflicted much misfortune upon the Jews, as his father <had done>. And then
Demetrius the son of Seleucus Nicator[e] marched against him. It was he who
reigned in Antioch of Syria. And he killed Antiochus Eupater
and Lysias, the general of his army. And so, he captured the two
principalities, that of his father and that of Asia. And so, he
inflicted great calamity upon the people in the days of Judas the Maccabee. And then
came Alexander[f] son of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of
he who had been killed. And <Alexander> waged war against Demetrius[g] for the sake of
his brother. And he defeated Demetrius and seized the two
principalities of Asia and Syria. And then he sent
<an embassy> to Ptolemy of Egypt[h] who gave to him his daughter Cleopatra.[i] But when he married her and
she was with Alexander, Ptolemy reneged and dealt falsely with <Alexander>
and demanded that he have vengeance on <Alexander's> father when he went up and plundered
<Ptolemy's> kingdom. And after he carried off his daughter, he gave her to the Demetrius[j]
who came after Alexander and reigned in opposition to him.
And the father of this <Demetrius> was <also> named Demetrius.[k] From the genealogy of the

125 ܟܕ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܣܝܕܝܛܝܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܒܗܝܗ ܘܐܚܕ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܓܝܣܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܘܫܠܛ ܒܗ ܫܢܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܢܝܩܛܘܪ

126 [1] <kings> of Syria. In this time <the son of Demetrius> came from Crete and seized
[2] the kingdom of his father. Moreover, he and the chief of his army threatened
[3] Jonathan the high priest with many <evils>. But when the Egyptian took
[4] his daughter and gave her to Demetrius[a] son of Demetrius[b] he then killed
[5] Alexander his son-in-law and seized the two principalities of Egypt
[6] and Asia. And after three days of reigning
[7] that Ptolemy died. And this, Demetrius seized the three principalities
[8] of Syria and Asia and Egypt. And he inflicted many evils
[9] upon the Jews just like his father before him. Also, Trypho,
[10] the one who killed Antiochus the child,[c] the grandson
[11] of Antiochus Epiphanes, did great evil to the Jews.
[12] Afterwards, Antiochus[d] son of Demetrius[e] from the lineage of Syria
[13] took[f] with him an army of Greeks, twelve thousand ,
[14] and after he conquered Trypho and became king, he turned and became enraged
[15] at the holy covenant, which was the Jews[g]. And these things came to pass in the days
[16] of Simon the High Priest, the brother of Jonathan. But this
[17] Antiochus, who <lived> in the days of Simon, was the last of these
[18] kings who struggled against one another and against
[19] the people. Concerning them the prophet <Daniel> speaks in all his history. However,
[20] that which comes before and that which comes after he intertwines with one another regarding <the chronology> of the kings.
[21] *'And the King of the South shall grow strong,'* (Dan 11:5) that is, Ptolemy[h] who conquered
[22] Alexander the Little of Asia.[i] (1 Macc 11:15-18)
[23] *'And at the end of some days they shall make peace,'* (Dan 11:6) that is, on the pretext of marriage. (1 Macc 10:51-58)
[24] *'Power shall not remain with her,'* that is, she was afraid and fearful as one who surmised
[25] the guile of her father, that he would appease by guile and that she would be given to <her husband> by fraud. (1 Macc 11:9-12)
[26] This resembles the matter of Merab, daughter of Saul, and that of Michal (1 Sam 18:17-27).
[27] *'And he shall remove a ruler who had dishonored him.'* (Dan 11:18) <Scripture> speaks
[28] of a certain person whom Alexander the husband of Cleopatra,
[29] raised to power in Cilicia. And he was
[30] against him at this time and derided him.

126

[a] Demetrius II Nicator.
[b] Demetrius I Soter.
[c] Antiochus VI Dionysus.
[d] Antiochus VII Sidetes.
[e] Demetrius I Soter.
[f] Lit: was.
[g] See Isho'dad, *Commentary on Daniel* 127.20-21.
[h] Ptolemy VI Philometor.
[i] Alexander Balas.
[j] In my translation I follow van den Eynde's emendation of ܗܠ ܡܢܗܪ.

127 [1] *'And a weak man shall arise in his place,'* (Dan 11:21) that is, in the place of
[2] Alexander <the Little>[a] whom the Egyptian took in war, shall arise Demetrius,[b] the son of
[3] Demetrius,[c] for he was called *'weak'* because he had previously
[4] been defeated by Jonathan, *'and he was not given the glory of the kingdom'* because
[5] his armies, who were the glory of his kingdom, hated him
[6] and they departed from him and abandoned him.
[7] *'The leaders of the covenants.'* (Dan 11:22) <Scripture> names the Jews.
[8] *'That weak man shall arise and become strong by a small people'* etc. (Dan 11:24)
[9] This is because after <Demetrius'> armies hated him and departed
[10] from him, they assembled in Antioch and imprisoned him there.
[11] But, sometime before this he had sent <a delegation> to Jonathan the High Priest
[12] <asking> that he help him while promising to him great propositions of assistance
[13] for the people after he had been relieved <of this difficulty>. And Jonathan sent
[14] an army of three thousand choice men. And they fell
[15] upon those nations who imprisoned <Demetrius> and they killed from among them
[16] a hundred thousand men and they rescued Demetrius. And the Jews
[17] were praised greatly by the King and by all the kingdom.
[18] And they took away great plunder and returned. This is <what is meant by>
[19] *'He shall become strong by a small people* etc.
[20] *'And he shall return and be enraged against the Holy Covenant,'* (Dan 11:30) that is,
[21] the Jews. He speaks concerning Antiochus[d] son of Demetrius,[e] who was furious
[22] with them and retracted his promises. For when he had come before
[23] defeating Trypho, he promised many great propositions of good things
[24] to the house of Simon, which he would do for them. And when he defeated
[25] Trypho, he reneged and lied and began to make harsh demands of them,
[26] 'Since you have devastated' he said 'the territories of my kingdom, give
[27] five hundred talents of silver in exchange. And in the place of other <damages>
[28] five hundred talents more.' (1 Macc 15:1-9, 25-36)

127 [1] ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܡ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܒܥܐ
[2] ܐܒܝܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܀ ܐܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܒܩ ܐܒܝܢܫܒܠܐ
[3] ܒܥܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܕܐ ܀ ܫܐ ܐܡ ܐܠܐ ܐܒܝܠܐ ܝܕ
[4] ܕܐ ܀ ܐܥܐܠܐ ܝܙܐ ܐܠܐ ܫܐ ܀ ܐܒܝ
[5] ܀ ܐܒܥܐܠܐ ܐܝܙܐ ܐܫܐ̈ܥܐ ܐܒܝܠ ܐܒܐܠ
[6] ܀ ܐܒܐܫܐ ܐܒ̈ܙܐ ܒܝ ܐܙܐ
[7] ܐܙܝ̈ܠ ܐܝܒ ܐܒ̈ܥܐ ܐܟܝܫ
[8] ܐܠܐ ܐܒ ܐܝܫܐ ܐܫܐܫ ܫܒ̈ܥ ܒܒ̈ܥ ܐܫ
[9] ܐܫܒܐ ܐܒ̈ܝܠ ܐܫ̈ܐ ܒܝ ܫܐ ܐܫ. ܐܟܝ
[10] ܒܒ̈ܥ ܐܫ̈ܐ ܐܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ ܐܠܐ ܐܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ ܀ ܐܫ
[11] ܐܝ̈ܫ ܝܕ ܒ̈ܥ̈ ܐ̈ܠ ܐܫ ܒܥ ܐܫ ܒ̈ܥ ܐ̈ܒ
[12] ܝܫ ܐܟ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܙ̈ ܐ̈ ܐ̈ ܀ ܐ̈ܫ̈ ̈ ̈

128 *'He shall regard those who forsake the holy covenant,'* (Dan 11:30) that is,
<Antiochus> who was pleased with wicked priests and the crowd of people
who forsook the law of God. Indeed, <Scripture> speaks concerning Jason, the brother
of Onias the high priest. <Jason> acted wickedly against his brother and promised money[a] to the kingdom
of the Greeks, three hundred and sixty talents,
and a further eighty and a further fifty. But Menelaus, the brother of Simon,
acted wickedly against him by three hundred more talents. (2 Macc 4:7-26)[b]
And these things occurred in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes.
'They shall hand over the abomination to destruction.' (Dan 11:31) <Scripture> speaks
concerning the Maccabees who, by the power of God, cast out every abomination
of the Greeks from the Temple. (1 Macc 4:26-59; 2 Macc 10:1-8) 'Maccabees' may be translated as 'zeal.' *'And those who*
act wickedly against the covenant, he shall condemn them,' that is, the Jews
who acted wickedly against the covenant of the Law and came to terms with the Greeks.
God himself shall condemn them with the Greeks.
And while telling of the virtuous ones[c] of the people, he says, *'And the people*
who know the religion[d] *shall become powerful.'* (Dan 11:32) This phrase concerns itself with
the above, *'They shall hand over,'* it says, *'the abomination to destruction.'* (Dan 11:31) And the <verse>,
'They will be added to them in division,' (Dan 11:34) is connected with
the above, *'They who act wickedly,'* it says, *'against the covenant, he shall condemn.'* That is,
they shall be divided from one another and shall split and shall join the side
of evil, every one of them separating from the true companions.
And they will support the actions of injustice and also shall be on the side
of the enemies.
'And some of the wise shall be thrown down to test them.' (Dan 11:35) That is,
the scandalous priests are the wise who are said to be familiar with evil.
Some of them will be thrown down and fall; they shall be a furnace of testing before the eyes
of everyone. And it will be known that it is because of their evil deeds that punishment
comes upon them as well as those <evils> which shall further occur. *'And to understand until*
the appointed time.' That is, everyone shall reckon and consider

128 ܗ̇ ܕܐܡ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܟܠܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܒܥܐ ܡܠܟ ܕܒܛܠ ܗ̇ ¹
ܟܠܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܠܦܐ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܕܒܫܒ ܟܠ ܕܐܡ ܟܠܝܟ ²
ܡܐܡ ܠܐܡ ܠܟ ܡ ܒܟ ܒܒ ܀ ܟܡܠ ܟܐܒ ܕܐܒ ³
ܕܒܛܠ ܡܐܡ ܠܟ ܠܟ ܕ ⁽ᵉ⁾ ܗ̇ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܒ ܟܬܐ ⁴
܀ ܟܬܒ ܒܒ ܟܟܒܒ ܟܐܡ ܟܬܒ ܟܒܟܠ ⁵
ܟܐ ܠܟ ܡ ܒ ܠܟ ܀ ܒܒ ܒܐܒ ܀ ܡܟܒ ⁶
܀ ܒܒ ܒܬ ܟܟܒ ⁽ᶠ⁾ ܐܡ ܀ ܐܡ ⁷
܀ ܡ ܐܡ ܟ ܡ ⁸
ܠ ܒ ܀ ܟ ⁹
ܐ ¹⁰
ܡ ¹¹
ܐ ¹²
ܐ ¹³
ܐ ¹⁴
ܐ ¹⁵
ܐ ¹⁶
ܗ̇ ¹⁷
ܗ̇ ¹⁸
ܐ ¹⁹
ܐ ²⁰
ܐ ²¹
ܐ ²²
ܐ ²³
ܐ ²⁴
ܐ ²⁵
ܐ ²⁶
ܐ ²⁷
ܐ ²⁸
ܐ ²⁹

[a] Or: invested money.

[b] I omit a marginal note in MSS from my translation and from the Syriac text.

[c] Or: virtues.

[d] Lit: fear.

[e] In my translation I adopt the reading of MS L: ܐܡ. MSS D and J read ܗ̇.

[f] MSS read ܐܡ

[g] Following MS J f.357r line 22. Van den Eynde erroneously reads ܟܡ

129 these evils which will be visited upon them, that they will justly occur until the consummation comes because, until this point, there shall be a long time for evil to prosper. *'And the King'* Antiochus Epiphanes *'shall do according to his desire.'* (Dan 11:36) That is, he shall glut his lust in every desire. *'And against the God of gods he shall speak great things.'* <Scripture> speaks concerning the above <verse>, *'his mouth shall speak great things.'* (Dan 7:20) That is, words of insults and blasphemy. *'He shall not regard the desire of women nor any god.'* (Dan 11:37) For he despised all the idols of his fathers and also abolished the religions[a] of the peoples, when he arrogantly ordered all the people to forsake their gods so that they might consider he alone to be God. Moreover, in his madness he despised the desire of women and desired to marry the goddess Nanea at the time when he went into Elam to take the gold which he heard Alexander had left there. But this Nanea, as they say, was the daughter of Darius, one of the rulers of Elam. And Antiochus heard this rumor of her wealth and her gold and he came to take her as a wife. But, by guile, she sent <a messenger> and said to him, 'Let not my Lord come against his servants harshly because I have persuaded my father to not wage war against you, but to give land to you. And I shall be a wife for you.' And Antiochus believed her and left all his army a distance <behind> and brought with him <only> a few men. But Nanea ordered her servants to be stationed at the entrance of the tower so that whenever he entered they might stone him with stones. And when Antiochus came to enter the gate, they threw stones upon him and stoned him and the men who were with him scattered. And he was put to flight in disgrace from there. And when all the land heard of this victory which Nanea achieved, they made for her a statue in her name. And afterwards many people were mistaken in this, inasmuch as <they thought> she was a great goddess. (1 Macc 6:1-4; 2 Macc 1:13-16)

129 ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܠܢ ܒܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܢܗܘ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܗܘ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܐܦ

130 [1] *'He shall honor in his*[a] *place a strong god.*[b]*'* (Dan 11:38) This happened
[2] to <Antiochus Epiphanes> when he was wounded by a blow from God and it was
[3] so hard <a blow> that his body was torn apart and emitted a stench and was decaying
[4] by the time he returned from the East. And he was driving <too> quickly
[5] and fell off of his chariot. And being tormented, he was humbled
[6] and was brought low from his arrogance. And he begged God fervently
[7] to have mercy and that he might be healed. And he promised in his petition to honor
[8] the holy Temple with great gifts and even to become a Jew
[9] if he was delivered from his illness. (1 Macc 6:5-16; 2 Macc 9:3-17)
[10] And <Scripture says> how <Antiochus> would act before his disease, *'he shall act*
[11] *against the mighty fortresses'* etc. (Dan 11:39)
[12] *'Zawgā,'* <Scripture> names chariots or carriages. (Dan 11:40)
[13] *'And news from the East and from the North shall trouble him.'* (Dan 11:44)
[14] <Scripture> says this, *'in the East'* since he went down to Elam to take the gold
[15] which he heard was in the house of the idols of Nanea. And they rebelled against him and turned him around
[16] with great shame. *'In the North,'* again because he was terrified
[17] by the hostages, the sons of the kings, lest they go forth and seize the principality of
[18] their fathers which he had despoiled and taken away from them.
[19] *'<These are they who> shall be saved from his hands, Edom and Moab and the sons of*
[20] *Ammon,'* (Dan 11:41) either because they made peace with him, or because as God saved them
[21] from the sons of Israel, so he saved them again from Antiochus.
[22] *'And he shall pitch the tabernacle*[c] *on a flat place between the Sea of Reeds*[d]
[23] *and the mountain'* which Moses went up. *'There he shall set up his tabernacle.'* (Dan 11:45) That is,
[24] there he will die.[e] *'He shall ready his sanctuary.'* That is, his army, like that
[25] which is prepared[f] and is ready for war. That is, he shall be concerned.
[26] over the <army>.
[27] *'Michael,'* he says, *'shall arise'* (Dan 12:1) to stop and cut off the <deeds> of
[28] Antiochus among the <Jews>. And before he arises, there shall be
[29] great *'calamity.'* It speaks of what happened when
[30] Antiochus came out of Egypt: the killing of old men and young men

130

[a] Or: its.
[b] Or: a fortified God.
[c] Or: tent.
[d] Or: Sea of Sūf.
[e] Lit: he died.
[f] Lit: separated.

131 and infants and boys and girls. Thus, in three days
about eighty thousand men perished, some of which
were killed and some of which were sold. And he entered the Sanctuary
in <his> arrogance and took the altar of gold and the lampstand
and the table of the bread of the Presence, in sum, all the ornaments of the Temple
and the hidden treasures. And he took one thousand three hundred talents
of gold from the Temple. And there was great mourning in the house of Israel.
Even the one who was sitting within the bridal chamber mourned. (1 Macc 1:20-64; 2 Macc 5:11-21). And when he departed, he left
two men more evil than he, Philip and Andronicus. And he sent
Apollonius as chief of all the abominations with twenty-three thousand
troops. And he ordered them to kill the old men,
but to sell the women and children. And when Apollonius came
he spoke to them with words of peace by guile. And when he discovered
that they were resting on the Sabbath day, he armed his troops and laid waste
to them from inside the city and outside of it. (2 Macc 5:22-26)
And <Scripture> speaks of what will come to pass after these things, *'In this time'* it says
'there shall be delivered from the sons of your people all who are found written
in the book.' That is, the virtuous who are among the people, like Mathias and his sons
etc. He calls Scripture *'the book'* of the Providence
of God who preserves them like that which is inscribed in a book.
'And many who sleep in the dust shall awaken,' (Dan 12:2) that is,
those who are lying in misfortunes and those who are humbled by troubles, that is
the Maccabees. *'Some to eternal life,'* that is, their patience
and their justice will cause them to delight in life in the two worlds <of this life and the hereafter>.
And furthermore, in every generation among those who are alive
they shall be glorified with a virtuous memory. *'And others to ruin*
and to the shame of their companions,' that is, the wicked priests and those who fell away
shall be delivered over to punishment on account of their crime. And they shall leave behind
an evil name and they shall be dishonored before their companions forever.
'And they who grant victory to many.' (Dan 12:3). These are the Maccabees

131

[a] Van den Eynde erroneously reads ܡܫܬܒܚ

132 who by their virtue were the cause of victory for the people.
'They shall shine' etc. *'forever and ever.'*
<Scripture> speaks of the time of rest which would be a comfort for the people.
He orders him *'to seal up the words,'* (Dan 12:4) that is, the seal
of obscurity, and not to make it known to anyone, so that it would not perish
from their memory and so that the nations would not fear and stop
the ascent to the promised land. Furthermore, so that
the weak of the people would not hear of the calamities which were destined for them and be prevented
from going up from Babylon to Jerusalem. *'And many shall seek*
the Lord and knowledge shall increase and abound in all
the world.' (Dan 12:4)
'He swore by him who lives forever,' (Dan 12:7) that is, by him who exists
eternally and does not end. *'For a time, times, and half*
a time,' that is, for three years and three months the tyranny
of the Greeks shall rule over the people. And in this time
the steadfastness of the Temple and of the city shall perish. And after
this decree has been accomplished, then *'the hands of all the holy people*
shall be saved,' that is, the Maccabees.
'<Many> shall be chosen and tested.' (Dan 12:10) That is, the Maccabees.
'And the sinners shall not understand,' that is, because they loved evil things,
their discernment was disturbed and they did not desire to understand. This
brief negligence, which God had toward his people, was on account of
their sins which were with them.
'And from the time the sacrifice is removed, the abomination shall be given to destruction,
one thousand two hundred and ninety days,' (Dan 12:11) that is, when
the offerings and sacrifices are removed and all of the ordinances of the law are abolished,
an opportunity shall be given to the abomination to destroy
and to disturb all steadfastness for three and a half years.
Hereafter, he makes known the excellent transformation which will occur,
'Blessed is he who will wait and reach the one thousand

132 ܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܢܫܬܘ ܠܗ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܠܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܡܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒ ܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܝ ܪܚܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܝ ܪܚܡ

133 [1] *three hundred and thirty-five days,'* (Dan 12:12) which exceeds the previously <mentioned days by>
[2] forty-five days, that is, when evil has received
[3] <its> conclusion and there shall be rest and the release from afflictions for the people.
[4] Others < say> *'one thousand three hundred and thirty-five'* is
[5] *'Jesus Christ, the great savior.'* For when the letters of
[6] these four terms are counted, <then> their sign is fulfilled <in the previously mentioned phrase>.[a] That is,
[7] <Daniel> received a revelation that he would meet and would see Jesus etc.
[8] Severus <says> 'Blessed are they who wait to see the days which are in <this number>
[9] regarding the completion of <Jesus'> life[b] from his baptism up to his ascension
[10] and also rejoice over his appearance and miracles' etc.,[c] which will last
[11] one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days.
[12] *'You shall rise in your time at the end of days.'* (Dan 12:13) By this preceding
[13] <sentence> <Scripture> shows <Daniel> that he will not be tested by the troubles of the people. And by this
[14] it indicates to him that he is worthy, at the known and fated time
[15] at the end of the world, for the awaited resurrection, which Christ shall perform
[16] at his final advent.
[17] But Theodoret says that these three and a half years
[18] are the time in which the Antichrist shall rule at the end
[19] and that these forty-five days are when the son of destruction
[20] shall be condemned and when Elijah shall triumph and shall turn every man away from <the Antichrist> and admonish
[21] the Jews and preach concerning our Lord up until our Lord himself appears
[22] from heaven.[d]
[23] And as for these two stories, Bel and the Dragon,
[24] many of the teachers regard <them> as superfluous, written,
[25] they say, by someone without care for accuracy. For, they say,
[26] Daniel was cast <only> one time into the den <of lions>, as it is written in his book <of Daniel>,
[27] and not twice as it is in his story <of Bel and the Dragon>. Indeed, they say
[28] there was no king Astyages from whom Cyrus the Persian
[29] received the kingdom because Cyrus <actually> removed the kingdom from Darius the Mede

133

ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܡܝܡܪ ܐ̈ ܟܬܒ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܡܦܫܚܢܐ
ܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܐ̈ ܐ. ܘܠܡ. ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܪܒܐ
ܘܡܦܫܚܢܐ ܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܐ̈ ܐ. ܘܠܡ.

134 through the ploy of Zopyrus, the general of his army, who having cut off
the tips of his ears and nose, came to Darius and <Darius> believed
<the general> etc.
Though others contrive that Darius was named
with two names, that is, Darius and Astyages. But note that
Astyages was King of the Medes and Cyrus took the kingdom
from two <kings>. Likewise, they reckon as false
the tale of Judith because King Nebuchadnezzar did not have
a general of the army <named> Holofernes, who came against Judah
and was killed.
But others say that if the tale of
Bel and the Dragon was a lie, it would not be possible that it would have
been worthy of mention
by the Saints, and especially by the Theologian <Gregory> Nazianzus[a]
and by Theodoret. For Theodoret says this,
that Astyages was the father of the mother of Cyrus.[b] Thus,
Cyrus was descended from two dynasties, as we have said
above. His father was from Persian <lineage>, and his mother was a
Mede. And when
this Astyages died, after thirty-eight years
of his reign and Chosroes, his son, was a child and not able
to govern the kingdom, Cyrus seized the kingdom of the Medes and
marched
against Darius the Mede, King of the Chaldeans, and conquered him and
he transferred the two kingdoms to the principality of the Persians.
This *'Bel'* (Dan 14:3) of the story is the statue of gold
which Nebuchadnezzar set up in the plain of Dura in the thirty-seventh
year
of his kingdom and the thirteenth <year> of the captivity. For the name
of 'Bel' is derived from 'Babylon.' This is the one whom the Greeks call
'Zeus.'
And the Babylonians have another idol of the name 'Nābo'
concerning which Isaiah says, *'Bel has fallen and Nābo is thrown down.'*
(Isaiah 46:1)
And we have explained this there in its own work.[c]
'ʾArdbā' is ten measures.

134

[a] Gregory Nazianzus may allude to the work in a poem, see PG 37 col 592 lines 181-183.
[b] Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* 1541.
[c] Isho'dad refers to his *Commentary on Isaiah* 48.7-13.
[d] Following correction in MS D p. 488 line 10. MS J reads ܒܠܐ
[e] Following MS D p. 488 line 14. MS J reads ܡܝܟ ܐܢ.
[f] Following MS D p. 488 line 14 and MS L. MS J adds ܐܡ

135 [1] *'He broke <the bread into> pieces in an ʿarbā.'* (Dan 14:33) An ʿarbā is a wooden vessel
[2] like a small trough, though others call it a pitcher.
[3] This Habakkuk is the same as that who <wrote> his prophecy.[a] And when
[4] Jerusalem and its surroundings were abandoned <due to its occupation> and there were some left there who were
[5] laborers and vinedressers who had come down with Jonathan the son of Korah to Egypt (2 Kgs 25:23),
[6] <then> this <Habakkuk> came from <the place> where he had fled, that is, from the land
[7] of Ishmael with a few <people> and dwelt in Palestine in his town
[8] which is called Bethsophar. And when he took up broth to bring it
[9] to the harvesters, he prophesied to his son, 'I am going,' he said 'far away
[10] and I will return shortly. But, if I delay, return to
[11] the harvesters."[b] And after he went to Babylon and brought <the broth> to Daniel
[12] he returned to the harvesters while they were eating and he said nothing to anyone
[13] of what happened. And it was revealed to him that the return of the people was near, but
[14] he died two years before the return. And he was from the
[15] tribe of Simeon.
[16] <Here> ends the commentary on Daniel the prophet. To God be the glory,
[17] Amen.
[18] Now, twenty-two leaders rose up over the people after
[19] the return from Babylon up to the divine epiphany and the catastrophe
[20] in the days of Pilate.
[21] The first, Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel.
[22] The second, Joshua the son of Jehozadak.
[23] The third, Jehoiakim the son of Joshua.
[24] The fourth, Elijah the son of Jehoiakim.
[25] The fifth, Joiada the son of Asaph.
[26] The sixth, Jonathan the son of Joiada.
[27] The seventh, Addo son of Jonathan. In his day Alexander
[28] the Macedonian went up to Jerusalem and worshiped in the Temple and honored it
[29] with gifts.
[30] The eighth, Jokania the son of Addo.

135

[1] ܗ ܒܟ ܦܪ ܒܪ ܚܒ ܚܒ. ܚܒ ܒ ܦܪ ܒ ܚܒ ܚܒ ܒ ܦ ܒ ܚ ܒ ܚ ܒ ܚ

136 The ninth, Eleazar. In his day the Scriptures were translated from
Hebrew to Greek.
The tenth, Bar Sira, son of Simon the brother of Eleazar.
The eleventh, Simon. In his day Jesus[a] lived who was called
Ben Sira.
The twelfth, Onias. In his day in Antiochus[b] oppressed
the Jews.
The thirteenth, Judas Maccabee son of Matthias, who drove out
the general of the army of Antiochus and cleansed the Temple from impurity.
The wicked high priest Menelaus first
contended against Judas. And afterwards Alcimus <did so>, who seized the priesthood
by the praise which he had given to the Romans, although he was not from
the family of the priests. On account of him, Onias son of Onias
the high priest went into Egypt and built there a city which was called
'<the city of> Onias' and <he built> also a temple like that in Jerusalem within
his city. But punishment reached Alcimus and he died.
And Judas led the priesthood for three years. Then he waged war with
the general of the army of Demetrius and was killed.
The fourteenth, Jonathan, brother of Judas, nineteen years.
He conquered Bacchides, general of the army of his brother Demetrius
and drove him from Judea. Afterwards he was killed by Trypho.
The fifteenth, Simon his brother, eight years. He
freed the Jews from tribute after one hundred and seventy
years of humiliation. That is, from the time of Seleucus
Nicator[c] who made them pay tribute. And then <Simon> was killed by
Antiochus Sidetes,[d] King of Syria.
The sixteenth, Jonathan, his son, twenty-six years. And he,
after seizing Hyrcania, was named Hyrcanus. And he
seized Samaria and leveled it to the ground and afterwards
rebuilt it and called it Sebastos.

136 ܟ ܟܬܒ ܐܦܝܦܝܢ ܡܟܒܝܐ ܀ ܐܬܠ ܟܬܒ
ܟ ܟܬܒ ܠܘܛ ܀
ܐܬܠ ܡܢ ܟ ܐܢ ܟ ܐܫܬ
ܟ ܐܦܝܦ ܟܬܒ ܐܢ ܡܟܒܝܐ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܐܫܬ
ܟ ܐܢ ܀
ܐܦܝܦ ܐܠܐ ܟ ܡܟܒܝܐ ܀ ܟܬܒ ܐܫܬ
ܠܘܛ ܀
ܐ ܡܐ ܟ ܟ ܐܦ ܟ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ

137 The seventeenth, Aristobulus, his son, for one year. He,
along with the high priesthood, put on the crown of the kingdom
after four hundred and eighty-four years since the captivity.
The eighteenth, Jannaeus, who was called Alexander, twenty-seven
years. And he was a harsh leader
and he subjugated many cities.
The nineteenth, Alexandra, his wife, who was <called> Salome, nine
years. From this point on the affairs of the Jews have been disturbed.
For the two sons of <Alexandra>, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus,
contended with one another over the priesthood. And there came Pompey
the general of the army of the Romans and he seized Jerusalem and he led out
Aristobulus while bound and relegated the priesthood to Hyrcanus.
And he appointed Antipater, the son of Herod of Ascalon,
as procurator of Palestine. And he forced the Jews to pay tribute
to the Romans. Hyrcanus governed for thirty-four
years and he built the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had destroyed.
In his day the statue which was on Olympus was struck by lightning.
And then Pacorus, King of the Parthians, brought Barzapharnes, general of his army
and marched against Syria. And he led Hyrcanus, King of the Jews, and his brother
Phasael into captivity.
And after him reigned Herod the Philistine by the order
of Augustus, though the kingdom had not been granted to him.
And after him, his sons.
And the years of all <the rulers> are four hundred ninety, according to
the determination of Daniel.
Here ends the commentary on the book of the prophets in its entirety. And to God
be the glory.

137

[1] ⠗⠁⠍ ⠠⠍⠁⠗ ⠗⠓⠕⠞ ⠍⠊⠞ ⠍⠕⠇⠗⠓⠁⠍⠊⠍ ⠊⠎⠓⠗⠓⠁⠗⠁⠗
[2] ⠊⠇⠓ ⠗⠓⠕⠇⠁⠎⠁ ⠗⠚⠓ ⠁⠙ ⠗⠓⠕⠧⠍⠁ ⠓⠁⠁⠊ ⠅⠁ ⠍⠁
[3] ⠗⠓⠁⠇ ⠞⠊⠞ ⠁⠊⠝⠁⠗ ⠍⠽⠗⠕⠓⠁ ⠗⠚⠓⠁⠊⠝ ⠊⠓⠁
[4] ⠍⠊⠎⠁ ⠍⠕⠊⠝⠧⠓⠇⠙ ⠊⠓⠁⠗⠁ ⠍⠕⠇⠁⠝ ⠊⠎⠓⠗⠓⠁⠗⠁⠗
[5] ⠗⠧⠁⠍ ⠗⠊⠊⠁⠎ ⠗⠙⠁⠍ ⠍⠁ ⠗⠁⠍ ⠍⠕⠙⠁⠗ ⠞⠊⠞ ⠁⠁⠁⠙
[6] ⠗⠓⠊⠞⠚⠓ ⠗⠓⠞⠊⠎ ⠧⠁⠁⠁
[7] ⠁⠁⠙ ⠗⠇⠍ ⠍⠁ ⠍⠓⠁⠗ ⠗⠊⠝⠧⠓⠇⠙ ⠗⠚⠓⠁⠁⠗⠁
[8] ⠗⠚⠁⠍⠁ ⠗⠓⠚⠉⠽ ⠇⠁⠇⠓⠁⠗ ⠗⠁⠁⠓ ⠞⠊⠞
[9] ⠍⠁⠙⠁⠊⠍⠁ ⠍⠕⠇⠁⠇⠓⠊⠗ ⠗⠁⠍⠁ ⠞⠊⠞ ⠍⠁ ⠏⠊⠓
[10] ⠍⠁⠉⠓⠁⠙ ⠗⠓⠁⠗⠁ ⠗⠓⠕⠧⠍⠁ ⠇⠙ ⠗⠁⠝⠝ ⠧⠁ ⠙⠊⠍⠁⠗
[11] ⠍⠊⠞⠁⠁ ⠉⠇⠊⠙⠁⠗ ⠙⠎⠁⠗⠁ ⠗⠉⠁⠙⠁⠍⠊⠁ ⠗⠇⠍ ⠕⠊
[12] ⠍⠁⠙⠁⠊⠍⠇ ⠗⠓⠕⠧⠍⠁ ⠊⠊⠁⠁ ⠒⠊⠉⠓ ⠙⠁ ⠍⠕⠇⠁⠇⠓⠊⠗⠁⠗
[13] ⠉⠍⠁⠗ ⠗⠧⠕⠇⠁⠗⠁ ⠍⠁⠊⠍ ⠊⠙ ⠍⠁⠊⠇⠓⠕⠍⠁⠗⠁
[14] ⠗⠓⠗⠁⠁ ⠏⠁⠓⠉⠓ ⠗⠁⠁⠙⠍⠁⠇⠁ ⠗⠝⠇⠓⠁⠇⠁⠗ ⠇⠙ ⠗⠁⠁⠊⠇⠓⠁⠗
[15] ⠉⠁⠊⠗⠁ ⠏⠁⠇⠁⠊ ⠍⠁⠙⠁⠊⠍ ⠏⠁ ⠊⠙ ⠗⠉⠓⠁⠁⠗⠁⠊ ⠓⠉⠙
[16] ⠍⠁⠓⠉⠓⠁⠙ ⠊⠙⠁⠗ ⠑⠍⠽ ⠉⠇⠊⠙⠁⠗⠁ ⠍⠽⠁⠁⠇ ⠗⠙⠁⠗ ⠏⠝⠁
[17] ⠗⠉⠓⠁⠇⠗⠁⠗⠁ ⠙⠍ ⠗⠉⠇⠽ ⠗⠍⠊⠁⠗ ⠇⠙⠁ ⠍⠓⠁⠁⠏⠊⠙⠁
[18] ⠒⠍⠇⠍ ⠊⠗ ⠏⠓⠇⠇ ⠊⠙⠁ ⠗⠁⠁⠓⠊⠙⠁⠗ ⠗⠉⠇⠓ ⠊⠁⠁⠙ ⠓⠁⠁
[19] ⠗⠁⠙⠁⠍⠁⠗ ⠗⠉⠇⠓ [a]⠍⠁⠙⠁⠊⠍⠇ ⠗⠊⠁⠓⠍ ⠇⠗ ⠏⠍⠁⠙
[20] ⠏⠇⠁⠗⠁⠙ ⠊⠙⠁ ⠗⠓⠁⠁⠙ ⠍⠁⠍⠗ ⠇⠗⠓⠍⠉⠓⠇⠁
[21] ⠗⠙⠁⠁⠙ ⠓⠗ ⠗⠓⠕⠇⠁ ⠍⠁⠊⠍ ⠽⠇⠓⠗ ⠗⠍⠁ ⠊⠓⠁⠁
[22] ⠗⠓⠁⠇⠁⠎ ⠍⠇ ⠓⠁⠁⠍ ⠗⠁⠁⠍ ⠇⠗ ⠙⠗ ⠒ ⠍⠁⠇⠓⠁⠍⠁⠗⠁
[23] ⠏⠍⠁⠙ ⠍⠊⠓⠁⠁
[24] ⠽⠝⠗ ⠏⠗⠁⠏⠓⠁ ⠗⠓⠉⠓⠁⠊⠗ ⠉⠍⠁⠇⠁⠁ ⠏⠗ ⠗⠏⠙
[25] ❖⠇⠗⠁⠙⠁⠗ ⠗⠍⠊⠁⠗
[26] ⠗⠍⠇⠗⠁ ⠓⠗⠇⠁⠗⠁⠉⠓ ⠗⠏⠓⠁ ⠗⠓⠁⠓⠁ ⠗⠊⠍⠁⠍ ⠽⠇⠁⠗
[27] ❖⠗⠓⠁⠁⠗

[a] Van den Eynde erroneously reads ⠍⠁⠙⠁⠊⠍⠇

Index of Biblical References

Genesis
5:32 36
6:3 36
7:6 36
15:13 36
22:17 32
31:43 20
41:33 16
47:22 6

Exodus
12:40 36
21:5–6 46

Leviticus
10:13 6
26:34 42

Numbers
24:24 44

Deuteronomy
16:16 42

1 Samuel
5:2 4
18:17–27 52
21:9 4
31:9–10 4

2 Kings
23:34 2
24:1-6 2
24:10–16 2
24:17 2
25:6–7 2
25:23 70
25:27 16

2 Esdras
12:10–30 xiii n58

Psalms
78:49 12
119:164 22

Zechariah
1:9 4

Isaiah
7:8 36
46:1 68
46:11 24

Jeremiah
7:16 36
25:11 22
28:1–11 2
29:10 22
31:31 41
39:6-7 2
52:31 16

2 Baruch
39 xiii n59

Ezekiel
1:4–21 10

Daniel
1:3 4
1:4 6
1:5 6
1:7 6
1:8 6
1:12 6
1:13 6
1:21 42
2 x, xi, xiv, xv
2:1 6
2:9 6
2:22 6
2:28 8
2:31 8
2:32 10
2:34 8
2:35 8
2:37 xiii n65
2:38 10
2:42 8, 9, 48
2:43 8, 9
2:44 x n28, xiv, 10
3:5 10
3:15 10
3:16 10
3:21 12
3:22 12
3:38 12
3:49 12
3:86 14
4:1 14
4:8 14
4:11 14
4:12 14
4:13 14
4:15 14
4:16 14
4:17 14, 16
4:27 16
4:30 16
4:31 16, 18
4:32–33 18
4:32 18
4:33 16
5:1 20
5:2–4 5n d
5:2 20
5:10–11 20
5:10 20
5:18 20
5:25 20
5:26 20
5:27 22
6:6 22
6:10 22
6:16 22
6:17 22
6:24 24
7 x, xi, xiv, xv
7:1–8 10
7:2 24
7:4 24
7:5 24
7:6 24
7:7 26
7:8 x–xi, 9, 26
7:9 26
7:10 26
7:13 26
7:14 26
7:18 x n28, xi, xiv, 26
7:19 26, 28
7:20 58
7:23 30
7:25 9, 28
7:27 x n28
8:2 28
8:3 28
8:5 30
8:7 30
8:8 30
8:9–12 9
8:9 xi n32, 30
8:10 xi, 30
8:11 32
8:12 32
8:13 32

8:14 32
8:16 34
8:17 34
8:23 34
8:24 34
8:25 34
8:26 34
9 x, xi
9:2 36
9:3 36
9:20 36
9:21–45 9
9:24 36, 38, 42
9:25–26 x n29
9:25 36, 38, 39
9:26 40
9:27 38, 40
10–12 xi
10:1 42
10:2 42
10:3 42
10:4 4, 42
10:6 42
10:14 44
10:21 44
11:1 46
11:2 46
11:3 48
11:4 48
11:5 52
11:6 52
11:18 52
11:21 54
11:22 54
11:24 54
11:27 9
11:30 54, 56
11:31 56
11:32 56
11:34 56
11:35 56
11:36 58
11:37 58
11:38 60
11:39 60
11:40 60
11:41 60
11:44 60
11:45 60
12:1–2 xiv n75
12:1 60
12:2–3 xi
12:2 62
12:3 62
12:4 64
12:7 64
12:10 64
12:11 64
12:12 66
12:13 xi, 66
14:3 68
14:33 70

Prayer of Azariah
15 12
26-27 12
64 14

1 Maccabees
1:6 48
1:20–64 62
1:21–24 32
4:26–59 56
6:1–4 58
6:5–16 60
10:51–58 52
11:9–12 52
11:15–18 52
15:1–9 54
15:25–36 54

2 Maccabees
1:13–16 58
4:7–26 56
4:30–35 32
5:11–23 32
5:11–21 62
5:22–26 62

6:18–31 32
9:3–17 60
10:1–8 56

Matthew
19:28 26
26:64 26
28:18 26

Luke
1:26–38 44
1:26 34

John
2:20 36

Hebrews
1:14 24